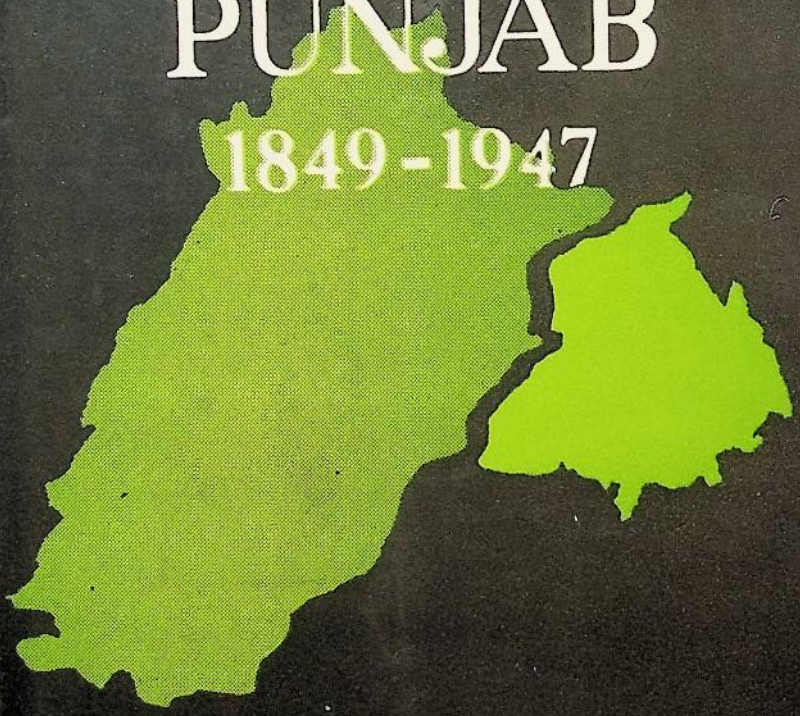
THE PARTITION OF THE PUNJAB

1849-1947



PREM VATI GHAI

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The kingdom of Punjab founded by Maharaja Ranjit Singh was short lived and passed into the hands of the British within a decade of his death in June 1839. This book, *The Partition of the Punjab*, treats the history of Punjab from 1849 to 1947. Important events which changed the history of India and the effect these events had on Punjab are dealt with in detail. During the upheaval of 1857, Punjab stood solidly behind the British and enabled them to recapture Delhi. The century of British rule in Punjab brought peace and prosperity to its people. This in turn brought a change in the religious attitude of its people leading to the founding of Arya Samaj. During the freedom struggle Punjab gave Lala Lajpat Rai and a host of others who gladly sacrificed all they had for a united India. April 13 is an unforgettable date for the people of Punjab; for it was on that day in 1919 that General Dyer ordered the massacre of the people, who had assembled at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, to protect against the deportation of Dr Kitchlaw. All these and many more incidents are discribed in vivid detail. A chapter on the aftermath of partition is also added.

This book will be of great help to those interested in the history of freedom movement and to others who want to know the complete history of Punjab during the century before partition.

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Mrs. Prem Vati Ghai was born in Lahore and had her early education at Govt. College (Lahore College for Women). After a gap of 30 years, she was enrolled at the D.A.V. College, Dehradun, where she did her M.A. from Meerut University, and was awarded gold medal. She did her Ph.D. in history from Garhwal University, Shrinagar. She comes from a prominent family of Lahore which is mentioned in *The Punjab Chiefs* by Sir Lepel Griffin.

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The Partition of the Punjab 1849-1947

Prem Vati Ghai



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To

The memory of my father, Late Diwan Amar Nath Chopra, Advocate of Lahore and my brothers Diwan Kidar Nath Chopra, Superintendent of Police, Diwan Narinder Nath Chopra, Deputy Superintendent of Police and Diwan Badri Nath Chopra, Mechanical and Electrical Engineer, who were murdered in Lahore during the Partition riots and in memory of my mother Smt. Laldevi Chopra and my two brothers, Diwan Bishan Nath Chopra and Diwan Prem Nath Chopra who never recovered from the shock.

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Preface

Punjab means *Panchnande* i.e. the land of the five rivers. The tract of the territory now comprising Haryana, the East Punjab, the West Punjab (now Pakistan), has been known by different names down the centuries. It is the sword, arm and granary of India. The word Punjab was first used by the Aryans and then by the Muslim rulers. It is very significant that the word Punjab was not used in *Ain-i-Akbari* and even Abul Fazl[1] describes Lahore and Multan divisions only. It is the sentinel of the country. A healthy climate and the fertility of its land has made its people sturdy and robust in character. Punjab suffered many invasions by Alexander, Timur, Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali, and many others. The only conquerors who established permanent empires over the greater part of India were the Turks in the Middle Ages, and the Chaghtai Mughals later. It is in the character of the Punjab's sturdy people that they have not only been able to rehabilitate themselves from an uprooted economy (after the partition of the Punjab) but have also stolen a march over other parts of the country within the short span of a few years. The Punjab has the highest per capita income in the country. After the partition of India, no one saw a Punjabi, man or woman, begging on the road. They maintained their spirit of self-help, self-dignity and above all dignity of labour, which enabled them to stand on their own feet after so many of them had crossed the border absolutely penniless.

This work was submitted for the degree of doctorate of Philosophy to the University of Garhwal, Shrinagar.

PREM VATI GHAI

Dehradun
13 April 1986

[1]Scholarly friend of Akbar the Great.

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In completing this rather monumental work, I received great assistance from many friends and scholars and my old teachers. I am particularly indebted to Dr P.N. Mukerjee former head of the History Department D.A.V. (P.G.) College, Dehradun who was my guide and superviser and who most gladly gave all the advice I needed. I am also specially indebted to Prof. L.K. Srivastava, present head of the History Department in the same College whose constant encouragement enabled me to keep up the stamina to complete the work.

I am thankful to Dr S.N. Prasad, Director National Archives of India New Delhi and his staff for their co-operation whenever I visited the Archives for research work. I am also thankful to the Punjab State Archives Patiala, the Asiatic Society Library Calcutta, Kaiser Bagh Library Lucknow, Golden Temple Library Amritsar, Central Archaeological Library New Delhi, the Indian Institute of Advanced Study Simla and the Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi.

I am deeply thankful to late Dr R.K. Singh former Vice-Chancellor of Meerut and Himachal Universities who first of all gave me the necessary encouragement to embark on the project. I must mention my gratitude to Mr Ruskin Bond and to late Shri H.R. Vohra, my daughter's father-in-Law for their valuable suggestions. Last, but not least, I may mention the assistance I received from my husband Mr B.K. Ghai forgoing through the script in spite of his business activities. My children and grand-children also gave me sufficient time despite my family responsibilities to denote myself to the work.

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During my visits abroad, specially to London, I gathered lot of valuable information from the India House Library, the British Museum and some other institutions.

I will fail in my duty if I do not mention the blessings I received from my spritual Guru, late Shri Anandamayi Ma without which I could not have done anything.

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Religion as practised today is the greatest separatist force. It has in our day-to-day life come to signify bigotry and fanaticism, intolerance and narrow-mindedness, selfishness and the negation of many of the qualities which go to build a healthy society. Its association with politics has been to the good of neither. Religion has been degraded and the politics has been sunk to the mire.

Moti Lal Nehru

My thoughts are never away from God . . . . My life is a constant prayer and they are but few moments in the day when I am not praying to God.

Max Müller

With virtue and quietness one may conquer the world.

Lao-Tze

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge. . . . At the stroke of the midnight hour, while the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in History, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance . . . .

Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. The present artificial unity of India dates back to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet. . . . The Muslims are not a minority as is commonly known and understood. . . . They are a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

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Integrity without knowledge is weak and useless and knowledge without integrity is dangerous and dreadful.

Samuel Johnson

Politics blinds people to facts and the price has to be paid.

Muhammed Raza Khan

Of the infinite desires of man, the Chief are the desires for power and glory.

Bertrand Russell

Now let it work, mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt.

William Shakespeare

It is nauseating to see Gandhi striding half naked up the steps of the viceregal palace while he is still organising and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor.

Winston Churchill

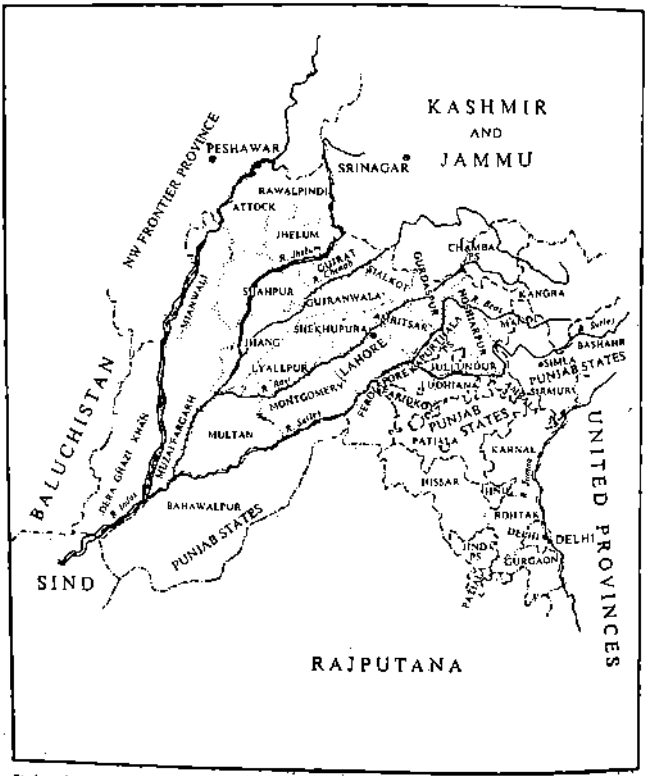
Jinnah and Sapru were once appearing in a court in Hyderabad. A point of Muslim Law was involved. Jinnah was ignorant of Arabic. Sapru translated the Quran for him. Headlines in the papers next day said, "Maulana Sapru translates Quran for Pandit Jinnah."

J.N. Sahni

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PUNJAB (PRE INDEPENDENCE)



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Chapter 1

Introduction

Punjab—placed as it is by nature in a locality which gives it a crowning position, and serving as the gateway to India, every invader from the north has, by its possession, sought the road to fame. In prehistoric times it was, presumably, the Punjab that was first invaded by the Aryans and it was here that they composed their holy Vedic hymns—the great literary memorial of their settlement in the country. Alexander, Mahmud, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali came and went. Punjab is the home of the *Mahabharata's* battle of Kurukshetra where Lord Krishna preached the *Gita*. The virtual collapse of the central authority at Delhi after the disastrous invasions of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali entered through the Punjab into a state of unparalleled commotion, made Punjab the scene of their military adventures. In short, from Alexander to the invasion of Shah Zaman (during Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign) it has served as a bulwark to India against all invasions from the north and west.

Punjab is the home of Sikhism, the religion founded by Guru Nanak. It was here that Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Sukerchakia misl appeared on the scene and founded the Sikh monarchy in the Punjab, but his descendants lacked the political foresight and wisdom and it was absorbed into the British Empire under Lord Dalhousie (1848-56). The names of the Lawrences (Henry and John) are boldly inscribed in characters of light on the frontispiece of the history of India. It was through the determination of John Lawrence that the British occupied the Punjab in March 1849 after the two Sikh wars.

Its fertile plains became the happy hunting grounds for invaders from the north-west, whose sole aim was to ravage and plunder the

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province. Politically, the Punjab was a ramshackle of petty states rocked by mutual jealousy and hence difficult to exist as a solid unit on the map of India. Economically, it was drained of its resources and socially it was completely disorganised. Such a setting was obviously favourable for the British to occupy it by adopting the policy of *divide et impera*. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1839, the infant Sikh kingdom of the Punjab was encircled by formidable powers—by the Afghans in the west, and on the other side, the East India Company.

British Conquest : British Policy Behind the Two Sikh Wars—Communal Relations from 1848-52

Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in June 1839[1]. He had established himself as monarch of the Punjab, North-West Frontier and Kashmir, and the Dogras by his blessings extended the frontiers of his domain across the Himalayas to Ladakh and Tibet. Sikh troops marched triumphantly through the streets of Kabul. This period lasted only forty years. The collapse was as dramatic in its suddenness as the rise. Within ten years after his death a succession of rulers was murdered.

The Punjab was ripe for annexation and the British who had been eager to hoist the Union Jack on the Khyber Pass hastened the process by playing one faction against the other and provoking the Khalsa army to measure swords with them.[2] They made full preparations in garrisoning their outposts and for crossing into the Punjab. The war that ensued was of their making. The leaderless Sikh soldiery betrayed by its commanders gave way to the British in their annexation of the Punjab. It has many lessons for Indians today, chiefly that a nation "divided is a nation lost".

The chief architects of the British policy during these crucial years were the Lawrence brothers—Henry and John. They turned the Sikh resentment into loyalty and subsequently they were responsible for crushing the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

Ranjit Singh during his lifetime[4] gave unity and supremacy and consolidation to his Khalsa army and kept them engaged in

[1]N.M. Khilnani, *The British Power in the Punjab: 1839-1858*, p. 15.
[2]Ibid., p. 16.
[3]G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab is a Sovereign State*, p. 183.

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conquest and remote warfare. He deployed many times its army for helping him in administrative matters. This dependence upon the military element for the civil Government was a fatal blow, a mistake which cost the Punjab its independence. After Ranjit Singh's death the Sikh element in the Durbar was more concerned with its needs than with the welfare of the Punjab. They formed[1] the centre of opposition to the Dogra faction and their efforts were directed towards individual gain and advantage, rather than collective benefit. They suffered from what we call "patriotism". After his death it was felt that the pilot had been dropped and the ship of the State was left without any guiding hand. Prince Kharak Singh who succeeded the throne was a weak person and was hated by the army as well as the Durbar. His son Nao-Nihal Singh, a youth of eighteen, was determined to destroy or to reduce to insignificance the potent Rajas of Jammu who wished to usurp the whole power of the State. Kharak Singh died in November 1840 and Nao-Nihal Singh became the *de facto* as well as *de jure* sovereign of the Punjab. But when he was returning from the funeral of his father a portion of a covered gateway collapsed and the Prince was killed. Historians suspect the Dogra brothers for staging a tragedy as they regarded Prince Nao-Nihal Singh as their arch enemy. The passing away of the Prince opened a bloody chapter in the history of the Punjab.

Chand Kaur—Nao-Nihal Singh's mother[2]—took over the reins of the Government. Sher Singh (Son of Ranjit Singh) with the help of the Dogra Rajas of the army, proclaimed himself the Maharaja in January 1841 but the easy-going prince could not check the growing power of the Dogra chiefs. Both Chand Kaur and Sher Singh were murdered.

Infant Dalip Singh (son of Rani Jindan[3], Ranjit Singh's young wife) was declared the Maharaja. She began to exercise considerable influence. The Queen Mother soon became the centre of all the intrigues. At this juncture, instead of casting off her personal interests she threw as it were a bubble to her brother Jawahar Singh, a weak,

[1]Ibid., p. 225. His Court was opened to talent and there were five distinct groups in his Court (i) Dogra Rajputs, (ii) Sikhs (iii) Hindus including *Brahmans*, (iv) Mohammedans, (v) Europeans. Among the Dogra Rajputs, Raja Gulab Singh and his brother Raja Dhian Singh, early attracted his attention. Noteworthy among the Muslims was Fakir-Aziz-ud-Din.

[2]Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 133.

[3]*Cambridge History of India*, vol. VI, p. 546.

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vain and venomous character. He had Peshara Singh murdered; the later was another pretender to the throne. He was also condemned to death by the Khalsa army. Now at this juncture, the army wanted the restoration of their powers. The self-seeking court politicians were now ready to barter the independence of their homeland.

Rani Jindan[1] and her favourite Minister Misr Lal Singh decided to divert the attention of the fierce soldiery from the easy prey within to the enemy at the gate. The garrison of the East India Company at Ferozepur was strengthened. They argued that it was a defensive measure. Thus, the army and the people of the Punjab felt alarmed at the sight of a real red line encircling their territory on every side. The British knew that the absorption of the Punjab was inevitable. They regarded the Punjab as a fruit which when ripe would automatically fall into the mouth of the British.

The Sikh army and the people of Punjab in general were convinced that the Anglo-Sikh struggle was not only inevitable but also a natural culmination of the East India Company's policy which was pursued by it. The Company had used Punjab as a military highway for Afghanistan and, in 1843, the Company had seized Sind and thus extended the British coils about the Punjab from Ferozepur to the Indus.

Therefore, at this juncture Rani Jindan advised the brave soldiers to fight a battle for which no political or administrative arrangements were made. Thus, driven to desperation, the Sikh army on 11 December 1845, crossed the Sutlej and the whole country, in grim tension watched the courageous and heroic struggle of the last Indian State against the tide of foreign rule engulfing the fertile plains of the Punjab. The chiefs who commanded the Sikh army virtually betrayed their men on the field. Raja Lal Singh[2] sent a message to Captain Nicholson[3] that he would hold back his army for two days so that he could make friendship with him and Rani Jindan. At Moodke, the British army reeled before the precision of the Sikh fire but Lal Singh fled before the beginning of the action and thus brought about the defeat of the Khalsa army. At Sobraon,

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, vol. VI, pp. 546-47.
[2] Ibid., p. 546.
[3] Ibid., pp. 546-47.

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Teja Singh, Commander-in-Chief, fled to the Sutlej and also broke the bridge and thereby cut off the retreat of his army. In contrast, the soldiery fought with the utmost valour but what could they do in the face of treachery and bad generalship. The British victory at Sobraon (10 February 1846) ended the war and five days later the Governor-General (Lord Hardinge) received Raja Gulab Singh and several other Khalsa chiefs at Kasur for peace terms, which was known as the Treaty of Lahore (9 March 1846).

The messengers of the Durbar and Rani Jindan[1] were concerned with the best possible terms to be secured for themselves. The territory between the Sutlej and the Beas up to the confluence of the Indus at Mithankot was surrendered to the Company and the Treaty was signed. Henry Lawrence was to be appointed Resident of "Lahore State". The payment of one and half crore as indemnity was settled, followed by the reduction of the Khalsa army and the surrender of the thirty-six guns. John Lawrence was appointed Commissioner for the Sutlej and the Beas territory. But the[2] Governor-General by his astute diplomacy did not annex Punjab. He weakened the Lahore State to such an extent that its absorption in the British Empire was only a matter of time. Lahore State was independent only in name, and the "native prince in fetters". The quislings, Lal Singh and Teja Singh, made a request to the Governor-General that intelligent officers be left behind for some time with them as they feared their disbanded soldiery. The Governor-General agreed to it gladly and accepted Maharaja Dalip Singh as the Maharaja of the Lahore Durbar. The trio of Rani Jindan, Lal Singh and Teja Singh soon realised their blunder.

According to the Lahore Treaty, at the instance of the British, Maharaja Dalip Singh agreed to recognise Raja Gulab Singh as the sovereign of the two native states of Kashmir. The British[3] Government in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh also agreed to recognise his independence in such territory. Since Gulab Singh was a wise ruler and foresaw the anarchic

[1]Honigberger also held the same view when he said that the Sikh cause was doomed because traitors were in command of its army. Martin Honigberger, *Thirty-five years in the East*, p. 119.

[2]R.C. Majumdar in his book *An Advanced History of India*, p. 743 writes that the Sikh Army almost shook to the very-base, the edifice of British dominion in the upper provinces.

[3]K.M. Pannikar, *Gulab Singh*, pp. 51-52.

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conditions of the Lahore Durbar, he began to cultivate friendly relations with the British as early as 1842. During the first Sikh war, the Rani had been asking Gulab Singh to help the Khalsa army, but he tendered his allegiance to the English. On account of his benevolent neutrality, the British Government conveyed to him that his interests would be safeguarded at the time of the Punjab settlement.

After the debacle of Sobraon,[1] Gulab Singh approached them as a negotiator. Kashmir was sold to him for one crore of rupees and he signed the treaty of Amritsar by which he was confirmed as the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. It was Lord Hardinge who diverted Gulab Singh from the Lahore Durbar to the East India Company.

The first Sikh war started on 11 December 1845 and ended by the end of February 1846, and the Treaty of Bhyrowal was concluded between the Lahore Durbar and the British Government on 9 March 1846. (Terms have already been mentioned.)

Second Sikh War 16 November 1848

After the first Sikh war the kingdom of the Punjab (now only the Lahore area) was to be governed by Rani Jindan as Regent, with Lal Singh as Vazir, while Henry Lawrence as Resident was to implement the peace settlement. No Englishman understood the Sikhs as well as he[2] did. By his large and generous sympathy for understanding the Sikh point of view, he won the confidence of the inhabitants and the neighbouring chiefs and sirdars. Agents of both the quarrelling parties came to him for arbitration and felt satisfied that no bitterness or enmity was left on either side.

The Sikh army, though defeated[3] and humiliated, was secretly trying to regain their lost empire with unabated confidence and was waiting for a suitable opportunity to drive out the foreigners from the Punjab. Raja Lal Singh was disliked by the Sikh chiefs on account of his handling of the first Sikh war. The Sikh chiefs excluded from

[1]K.M. Pannikar, *Gulab Singh*, pp. 51-52.

[2]S.S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, p. 73.

[3]K.M. Pannikar, *Gulab Singh*. Gulab Singh was already a feudatory of the Sikh Darbar and by the treaty of Amritsar, the British confirmed upon him as the sole Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir by selling to him for one crore of rupees, as the (British) were not in a position to secure Kashmir—a far flung area by force.

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power were trying to excite the soldiers against the makers of the peace treaty. Henry Lawrence was trying to assure the bonafides of the British Government and was advising the Lahore Durbar to put their house in order and to regain the confidence of their army by just and judicious treatment.[1] But they paid no attention when Henry as Resident was trying to improve the general conditions for the prosperity of the Lahore Durbar, while trouble was brewing in the direction of Multan. It was governed by Diwan Sawan Lal who paid annually to the Lahore Durbar a substantial amount of money and was the wisest and most loyal provincial governor in the Lahore State. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Diwan Mul Raj.

Hira Singh who was a minister of Lahore State demanded an increase in *Nuzerana*. During this period Diwan Mul Raj distrusted the Lahore Durbar; misunderstandings cropped up which three years later drove him into rebellion. He could not control his province like his father, and was asked by the Resident to submit his accounts; this deepened the discontent of the Diwan. As desired by the Resident, the Diwan paid up all the arrears and the Multan affair was settled to the satisfaction of all parties. Simultaneously with the Multan crisis, the Lahore State was having another storm in the north, The Hill states of Kashmir and Hazara viewed with disfavour the emergence of Raja Gulab Singh as the strong man of the region.

Shaikh Imam-ud-Deen was the Governor of Kashmir during Raja Gulab Singh's time and developed his own ambitions to become an independent ruler, free of the Lahore Durbar. Raja Lal Singh wrote secret letters to the Shaikh asking him to resist the occupation of Kashmir by Maharaja Gulab Singh. He was secretly mobilising his forces against the Maharaja, later he sent Diwan (Governor of Lahore) Lakhpat Rai to curb the disloyal elements of the Shaikh. He broke out into open rebellion, and during the flight of his troops, Diwan Lakhpat Rai was killed.

The defeat of the Maharaja's force[2] in Kashmir escalated the rebellion and the people of Hazara also rose *en masse*. The British Agent at Lahore had remained a passive but interested spectator of the Kashmir drama. Later on, affairs developed badly and Henry Lawrence decided to intervene. He issued orders warning the people

[1]Sita Ram Kohli, *The Multan Outbreak and the Trial of Diwan Mulraj*, a Punjab Record Office Publication, Lahore, 1932.

[2]N.M. Khilnani, *British Power in the Punjab*, p. 7.

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that they would forefeit their lives and property if they assisted the Shaikh. The Resident's skilful handling of the situation was responsible for the surrender of Imam-ud-Deen. Lal Singh was removed from the ministry with the confiscation of all his jagirs. Lal Singh[1] was removed, "un-wept, un-honoured and un-sung", in December 1846. Such was the fate that befell the self-centered traitor who, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the country, rose to power, stabbed the army in the back and betrayed the interests of his country while placing his own interests above the welfare and stability of the kingdom of the Punjab.

With the exit of Raja Lal Singh, Lahore politics took a dramatic turn. According to the Lahore Treaty[2] (see last Chapter) the British troops were to withdraw by the end of December 1846. Maharani Jindan made an appeal to the Resident for the retention of the British troops to complete the reorganisation of their army. But this proved fatal to them as well as to the Punjab State. Governor-General Lord Hardinge accordingly agreed to carry on the Government of Lahore in the name of the Maharaja during his minority, placing a British minister at the head of the Government, assisted by a native council. According to this arrangement the power of the British became unlimited and was to extend to every sphere of the administration.

The hope that the kingdom of the Punjab would again become independent when the Maharaja arrived at years of discretion was absurd. No native principality in India had ever become independent again after having remained under British tutelage.

Henry Lawrence wrote to Currie:

> If we remain, we must administer the country ourselves and thereby effectually prevent the Maharaja from ever being able to do, for there is no instance of any native Government recovering from such temporary rough riding, when again left to itself, and taking its place as an independent State.[3]

Under the guise of guardianship Lord Hardinge sought to tighten the British grip on the Punjab.

[1]Marshman, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 303.
[2]G.B. Malleson, *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 336.
[3]Henry Lawrence to Currie, September 2, 1846 no. 23/B.K., 174 P.G.R.

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The Governor-General was determined to see that the Lahore Durbar accept his scheme.

Lord Hardinge, anticipating the reluctance of the Durbar to agree to his proposals, was keen that the proposals should originate with them. The Governor-General wanted to create the impression on the world outside that he was graciously and with great reluctance agreeing to the "request" of the Lahore Durbar for garrisoning the soil of the Punjab.

But the coyness of the Lahore Durbar was but natural and it was a sufficient hint for the Governor-General to withdraw the British troops from the Punjab according to the agreement, by the end of 1846. But the Governor-General was adopting all means to gain this end. The rewards and bribes to chiefs were accompanied by threats also.

On 9 December 1846, Fredrick Currie (F. Sect.) informed the Maharaja that the "Governor-General was determined to hold the Lahore Government responsible for the tranquility of the frontier and that he would not permit the renewal of a state of anarchy, misrule and military insubordination similar to that which existed last year."[1]

The chiefs remained reluctant. The Governor-General then hit upon another scheme. His diplomacy was now to be backed by certain sham and pretended military movements designed to give the impression that the British forces had begun to withdraw from the Punjab. Here are quoted some extracts from his private letters to his secretary, who was engaged in the vital negotiations with the Durbar. "My object is to give the Lahore Durbar a hint that the garrison is on the move. He ordered the troop movements also from Lahore to Ferozepur for accelerating the Durbar decision"

The chiefs succumbed to the Machiavellian tactics of the British and yielded to the proposal. Currie thus staged a drama before the world to show that Sikh chiefs were placing their country under the shadow of the British. The Maharani—"Mother of the Prince and of the Sikhs"—was excluded from participating in the discussions. The Rani had begun to realise the depth of the British designs on the Punjab and she tried "to win over the sirdars of high and low degrees and unite them all together in a scheme of independent

[1]Currie to Maharaja Dilip Singh, 9 December 1846, Parliamentary Papers, 1847-49, p. 544.

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Government of which she herself was to be the head[1]." But she was being excluded from each and every meeting that was being held between the Resident and the Sikh chiefs.

Currie drafted the terms according to which the British garrison would stay in the Punjab.

1. A British force would remain at Lahore for the protection of the city and country in such position as the Governor-General should think best adopted for the security of the force, and at the same time, for the convenience of the inhabitants of the town.

2. A fixed sum in monthly instalments must be set apart from the revenues of the country for the maintenance of this force.

3. The Governor-General must be at liberty to occupy any military post or part with British soldiers which His Lordship may deem necessary for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

The sirdars unanimously agreed to these terms.

Rani Jindan was deprived of all powers and given an annuity of Rs. 1,50,000. The treaty was to terminate when the Maharaja was to attain the age of sixteen years. Administration of the State was to be carried on by a Council of Regency, consisting of eight sirdars, which was to work under the control and guidance of the British Resident. This treaty is called the "Treaty of Bhyrowal" which was announced on 26 December 1846, by a grand salute of the British guns. To persons[2] with some foresight the roar of guns "must have sounded like the boom of minute guns over the grave of a once powerful nation."

The Treaty of Bhyrowal gives us a glimpse into the working of British diplomacy. Currie gained all the objectives aimed at by his master. This treaty brought the British into the fertile plains of the Punjab.

Henry Lawrence as Resident at Lahore

The Treaty of Bhyrowal placed the Sikh kingdom under the tutelage of the British Government. The Governor-General became the guardian of the young Maharaja and he appointed Henry

[1]The conference with the chiefs of Lahore State on 15 December 1846, Parliamentary Papers relating to the articles of agreement.

[2]Trotter, *The History of the British Empire in India*, p. 85.

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Lawerence British Resident with "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the state".[1]

The British Resident formed a council consisting of eight leading sirdars of the Kingdom. It was entirely an advisory body under the guidance and control of the British Resident.

Henry Lawrence became the first *de facto* and *de jure* ruler of the Punjab and in fact the successor of Ranjit Singh. Out of this chaotic state, Lawrence with his characteristic energy and promptness started to reshape the administrative fabric of the State. The principle of division of labour was introduced for the first time in the Government. Diwan Dina Nath[2] was put incharge of the revenue, Sher Singh was incharge of the Fort, Tej Singh was made chief-in-charge of the regular Sikh forces and Fakir Noor-ud-Deen was given charge of the public works, etc. The Resident had a complete grip of the administration, he relaxed or tightened his hold as he thought fit. Every detail of the administration passed through his hands. Daily receipts of income and expenditure were punctually recorded by him.

He set up a highly centralised administration which was lacking during Ranjit Singh's time. Simultaneously with the highly centralised administration he took up the management of the provinces. Mofussil treasurers and *Kardars* and other government subordinates were asked to furnish weekly accounts and told that breach of this practice would be severely punished.

Henry Lawrence's reforms can be summed up in three words—Retrenchment, Reform, and Improvement—in the condition of the people.

With the Sikh sirdars, the Resident did not[3] encounter any obstacle in carrying out his administration. The only hindrance was the Queen Mother who was dissatisfied from the very beginning. They were waiting for "any fair pretext to banish her from the Punjab though she preferred to stay at Lahore to safeguard the interests of the people". She was imposing every sort of hindrance for the British Resident. She adopted the attitude of non-cooperation towards a British protégé.

To protect[4] the Prince from her influence and to shield the

[1]G.B. Malleson, *Decisive Battles of India*, p. 346.
[2]Diwan Dina Nath was the financial wizard of his time.
[3]John (from 21 August 1847 to 6 March 1848, as officiating Resident).
[4]Thorburn, *Punjab in Peace and War*, pp. 89-90.

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chiefs from "a woman's revenge", the Resident suggested her banishment from the Punjab. First she was sent to the Fort of Sheikhpura, and then on 19 August 1844 she left the Sikh kingdom forever which was so colourfully associated with her career.

After the departure of the Rani, Henry Lawrence and Lord Hardinge left for England (in November 1847) and the machinery of the State was handled by John Lawrence and Frederick Currie.

Unlike John, Henry was never sure enough of the infallibility of his race as governors over alien people. John on the other hand had no faith in the Indian institutions and was strongly convinced that the English methods of rule would alone bring peace and prosperity to the land of the five rivers. He had zeal, energy, and[1] resolution devoid of sympathetic imagination. John at once proceeded to initiate root and branch reforms in the land revenue system of the Sikhs. It must be stated to his credit that John Lawrence held far more enlightened views on agriculture and problems relating to land revenue than most of the administration. The whole province's assessment was complete in three months' time.

Having started his assessment, he next reformed the customs and excise systems and then turned his attention to methodising the administration of justice by appointing the best men available as judges in different localities. In other departments, he was equally energetic, e.g. he appointed a Postmaster-General and introduced the penny post. John ruled like an autocrat, made roads, started schools, and introduced uniformity in weights and measures also. He affected a saving of £6000 a year by discharging a number of superfluous regimental accountants. Such were his economic measures. Diwan Mul Raj, a dignitary who had for four years exercised despotic powers, was put behind bars. But this was not a wise move. In the sequel Diwan Mul Raj led the upheaval at Multan which ended in the battle of Gujarat. Politically John was blind. He made many fiscal reforms in the Punjab as Sir Robert Peel had in England in 1842. He abolished custom duties on many articles, and not only increased the revenue but revived the trade and increased the purchasing power of the people.[2]

Regarding his religious policy, as a reforming Englishman ignorant of the Punjabis but aware of their own powers, he toured throughout the land. Wherever he went he was redressing abuses

[1]Thorburn, *Punjab in Peace and War*, pp. 90-91.
[2]Ibid., p. 80.

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and treating the lords of hundreds of villages as servants. The Khalsas, from the sirdar to the peasant, felt that their Raj was over. That Sikhs and the Muhammedan sirdars and peasants should be treated alike was a climax to their humiliation which no true member of the Khalsa could tolerate. The Sikh resentment under the new order was but natural. He was harsh in his religious policy.

He set aside[1] the Sikh Law which forbade the Azan (Muslim call for prayers) being called in the hearing of the Hindus, and regarding the *Kardars* he asked them to settle their accounts at once and, if they failed, they were imprisoned.

On 12 January 1848, Lord Dalhousie landed in Calcutta.

From John Lawrence's despatches it is clear that the idea that his sweeping economic and religious reform might induce a rising never occurred to him. As a result of his new fiscal policy Diwan Mul Raj resigned. Mr Vans Agnew and Lt. Anderson who were sent by John to receive Diwan's resignation were murdered.

Whether John Lawrence's conduct of affairs during the eight months preceding the Multan outbreak goaded the Sikh leaders into rising against the English or merely precipitated a contest which was inevitable can't be determined. But it is certain, that he rushed his reforms though indiscreet haste, and treated many of the proud sensitive chiefs of the country with contempt and thus transgressed his instructions both in spirit and letter.

Lord Hardinge[2] had cautioned him before leaving for England that the position of the English was not that of active agents, but of friendly advisers. But he ignored all his instructions. Peace and prosperity was brought into the Punjab by his Bismarckian policy of "Blood and Iron". People were crushed under his harsh measures.

The sturdy Jat peasantry equally[3] great in peace and war bore no love for the British. Like the French peasantry of the Revolution, the Jat peasantry of the Punjab was a potential reservoir of military strength. Even Dost Mohamed Khan, the ruler of Kabul wrote to Capt. Abbott and gave a friendly warning. The Anee wrote to say that the Sikhs were becoming discontented and he cited the treatment accorded to the Queen Mother as one of the main causes of the Sikh unrest. "Such a treatment" wrote the sovereign of Kabul

[1]Thorburn, *Punjab in Peace and War*, p. 82.
[2]Ibid., p. 95.
[3]Currie to Elliott, 6 April 1848.

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"is considered objectionable by all creeds and both high and low prefer death."

The political[1] situation in the country was becoming more tense, proved more provocative to the Sikhs and more injurious to the British interests than their constant intrigues could possibly have been.

Outbreak at Multan and the Second Sikh War

John Lawrence was reverted to his old Jullunder Division and Sir Frederick Currie took over as Resident.

The effects of the reforms introduced by the Lawrence brothers were not confined to the territories directly administered by the Lahore State. Their repercussions were also felt in the far-off province of Multan governed by Diwan Mul Raj. The merchants of Multan felt that the new Punjab system of reduced import and export duties should be introduced in the province in place of octroi duties.

Diwan Mul Raj[2] came to Lahore and John Lawrence wished him to retire so that fiscal and land reforms could be extended to Multan and so widen the English sphere of influence in the Punjab.

Accordingly P.A. Vans, Agnew and Anderson were sent to take over the charge from Diwan Mul Raj. This provoked the feelings of the people who greatly loved and respected him. Both were murdered there, and crises and confusion followed. All the garrisons, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were in open revolt and compelled Mul Raj at the point of the bayonet to assume the leadership against the hated foreigners. Mul Raj thus became an unhappy victim of circumstances. He, issued a proclamation summoning all the inhabitants of the province to drive away the British from the land of the[3] five rivers. Open rebellion broke out.

[1]Dost Mohamed Khan to Capt. Abbott. no. 64/W.E. 6 January 1849, P.G.R.

[2]Sita Ram Kohli. *The Multan Outbreak and the Trial of Diwan Mulraj*, a Punjab Record Office Publication, Lahore, 1932.

[3]*The Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs*, 21 August 1848. "That Mul Raj was not directly implicated in the murder nor he was accessory before and after the fact. His resignation was voluntary, but the way in which it was carried into effect was revolting to the feelings of high-minded men and unbearable to his army. There was nothing premediated but that much was caused by the bearing of the officers themselves".

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This became the immediate cause of the second Sikh war. The Sikh army frankly suggested the Resident that the Sikh army would not fight against Diwan Mul Raj. Frederick Currie himself was conscious of the urgency of putting down the rising so that it should not spread to other parts which could become difficult to control.

The outbreak was, therefore, a spontaneous upsurge of the population of Multan. Currie was keen to send the English troops immediately, but the young Lord Dalhousie was for postponing it because of a big winter *shikar* he loved to enjoy. But with the timely help of the Nawab of Bhawalpur the British forces defeated the rebel forces at the Battle of Kineyrel on 18 June—the day on which the Battle of Waterloo was fought (hence Kineyrel is styled by several historians as the Waterloo of the Punjab). Mul Raj after this crushing defeat shut himself up in the fort of Multan. Now the Resident planned to lay siege to the fort. In the meantime the news spread throughout the Punjab that the British forces were going to destroy the great stronghold of revolt.

The Diwan sent[1] inflammatory proclamations throughout the Punjab and the result was that fresh rebellion broke out, headed by Sirdar Chutter Singh—the Governor of Hazara district. Sirdar Chutter Singh's son Sirdar Sher Singh was fighting with the Durbar troops against Mul Raj but yielded to his father's wish and moved to the aid of Diwan Mul Raj's troops with his whole camp. The result was that all the Sikh recruits of the British went to Mul Raj's side.

The result was that Peshawar and Bannu garrisons broke into open rebellion. All these battalions moved down towards Gujarat. Chattur Singh became the directing brain of the national movement. He sent a Sikh manifesto first to Lord Dalhousie on 2 December 1848 which the latter described as the advance of the British army. Henry Lawrence described it as "the Grand Shikar".

Chattur Singh opened negotiations with the army of Kabul—Dost Muhammad. He readily agreed and declared *jihad* (holy war)

[1]Sirdar Chutter Singh was the most exalted dignitary of the kingdom and his daughter was betrothed to Maharaja Dilip Singh. Capt. James Abbot, the Resident's assistant at Hazara district was responsible for Sirdar Sher Singh's wish to join Mul Raj as he looked upon the latter with suspicion always and regarded him a traitor. He even aroused the armed Muhammedan peasantry to destroy the Sikh forces. Sirdar Chutter Singh became convinced that it was the settled policy of the British to put the Pathan against the Sikh and thereby retain their hold on the Punjab.

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against the English and for the first time India saw the heartening spectacle of a united front presented by the Sikhs and the Afghans to their common foe. The Punjab was now in flames.[1]

On 22 November the Sikhs and the British were in a position opposite to each other. Lord Gough (C.-in-C.) and Lord Dalhousie were controlling all the actions. As Gen. Gough approached, he saw the Sikhs streaming away over the sands of the river. Col. Havelock fell and there was a setback to the British troops; moreover their reinforcements were also quite late in reaching Gujarat. Lord Gough resolved to change his position; but the next morning (1 December 1848) the discovery was made that the Sikhs had retreated and on 3 December, the whole of the Sikh forces fled in the greatest disorder. Sher Singh was waiting for his father with reinforcements of men and guns.

On 1 January 1849[2], Multan fell and this news reached the British Camp on 6 January. Lord Dalhousie was now daily urging General Gough to fight as Sirdar Chattur Singh was approaching Rasul with a large Sikh and Afghan army with many guns. On 11 January 1849, General Gough advanced towards Dinghi. Both the armies were equally hopeful of victory. Rasul was the key to Sher Singh's position. General Gough began his advance on 12 January and his troops halted at a point where the track Chillian water on the east joined that from Dinghi to Rasul. Sher Singh was in full command of the situation.

Chillianwala became a slaughter yard rather than a British victory, but the bad generalship of Lord Gough and the superior strategy of Sher Singh who drew the C.-in-C. into the jungle and induced him to attack in a difficult positon was destructive to the British. He gave orders for the entrenchment. The Sikhs were round the town of Gujarat, the British to the south of the town and they left resting on the small town of Kunjah and Shadiwal[3]. The fighting was severe and the losses were heavy and the Sikhs who had beaten the Punjab army at Chillianwala were reduced to a scattered rabble of fleeing men with the common object of "Self before the Country". By the easy victory of Gujarat on the 30 March 1849 the annexation of the Punjab was proclaimed.

[1]Quoted by the *Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs.*
[2]Rasul and Dinghi (Gujarat district) now in Pakistan.
[3]Kunjah and Shadiwal (Gujarat district).

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Chapter 2

Punjab Under John Lawrence

The Board of Administration (1849-53)

The battle of Gujarat placed the coping stone on the edifice of the British Empire in India. On 12 March 1849, Sirdar Chutter Singh, Raja Sher Singh, and thirty-five chiefs surrendered before General Gilbert and laid down their arms at his feet. The scene was pathetic. Tears ran down their cheeks but Lord Dalhousie was made of stern stuff and he awaited "the utter destruction of the Sikh power, the subversion of its dynasty and the subjugation of its people." Henry Lawrence was inclined to the view that the Britsh Government had not been honestly pursuing the Treaty of Bhyrowal up to his departure for England. In November 1847, the Treaty was followed, but the arrival of Dalhousie in 1848 changed the situation and he was determined to annex the Punjab. Dalhousie was the type of autocrat who hated the expression of free opinion and thought. He wanted information and not opinions. He implemented his pre-determined policy and on 29 March 1849, the Union Jack was hoisted on the Fort and announced the fulfilment of Ranjit's ominous prophecy that "the land of the five rivers would also go red." Dalhousie exploited the treaty of guardianship, crushed the rebellion with the Sikh resources and the influence of the Maharaja's name and then declared the treaty null and void; the Punjab was "conquered"[1]. Henry ruled by human sympathy and Dalhousie by reason.

Henry sent in his resignation but Dalhousie was too shrewd a statesman to lose a physician who was to heal the wounds caused

[1]Evans Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab*, p. 6.

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by the second Sikh war. He sent his Foreign Secretary Mr Elliot, with the message that for him (Lawrence) to leave in the lurch the people he had known so well and whose welfare he had worked for so zealously would be unbecoming, and that he should withdraw his resignation. Henry withdrew it.

Dalhousie established a Board of Administration with Henry as its President. At that time the newcomer Charles Napier's (C.-in-C.) appointment took place.

His first scheme was to establish military rule in the Punjab i.e. in other words he meant the transfer of powers from the Governor-General to the C.-in-C. This clash[1] of authority united Dalhousie with Henry and the whole management and defence was assigned to the Board. The Khalsa army was naturally in a depressed mood for the loss of their mighty empire.

The chief aim of the Board was not only to demolish the old chiefs but to divert their attention from their disgruntled past to an assured hope of peace and plenty under the new rule. Henry belonged to the class of people whose heart instinctively goes to the humiliated and defeated class, while John Lawrence was often feared. His statue on the Mall in Lahore shows him standing with a pen in one hand and a sword in the other as if asking the Punjabis, "By which will you be governed, the pen or the sword?"[2]

The first act of the Board was to destroy all antisocial elements from the body-politic and for this purpose an efficient police force was organised. Disarmament was the chief problem. A proclamation was issued for general surrender of arms. The Khalsas tamely obeyed the orders of their foreign masters. The maintenance of peace was helped greatly by the judicial system started by the Lawrences. But they did not supersede the village panchayat.

The liquidation of the Khalsa army led to unemployment on a large scale. The only alternative left to them was to exchange the sword for the plough. Extensive tracts of land in Shahpur, Jhang, Pakpattan, Montgomery and Lyallpur came to be cultivated. These tracts later on developed into canal colonies which became the richest colonies of the Punjab. Bari-Doab canal was the first canal that started functioning in the Punjab in 1852.

[1]Napier resigned and left for England in December 1850.

[2]Later during the freedom movement some one broke arm of his statue about 1931-32.

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A healthy middle-class grew up which has always been termed the backbone of society. For nearly a decade, due to the unsettled conditions, the commercial and agricultural classes of the Punjab who formed the middle-class, were in a bad condition. But with the establishment of an orderly government, the country was showing signs of recouping its economic imbalance.

Regarding the communal problem,[1] the Muhammadans welcomed the change of rulers because for them both the English and the Sikhs were infidels. Regarding the Sikhs, though the administration had the creedit, the higher praise goes to the Sikhs who proved to be gentle and simple and accepted the loss of their empire as final. They now wanted to rise to wealth and honour under the new race.

Roads and irrigation got first priority during the Board's four years of rule. The confusing varieties of numerous coins called Nanak Shahi were gradually called in and replaced by the Company's rupees. In each district there was one Resident Englishman and the people were obedient to his will.

The distinguishing feature of the Board was that it always sought the cooperation of the people, to make the new province a durable and reliable bulwork of the British Empire in India.

Differences between the two brothers—Henry and John—were growing sharply and deteriorated rapidly on the question of jagirdars, as Henry wanted to be lenient and kind to the old Durbar people, but John and Dalhousie wanted to be opposite to them.

Both the brothers offered their resignations to Lord Dalhousie and this gave Dalhousie an opportunity for which the latter had been waiting for a long time. Henry was offered the Governor-General's Agency in Rajputana. But Rajputana could never be what the Punjab was to Henry. The Sikhs had always known Lawrence as a friend whether he was Resident at Lahore or the President of the Board of Administration.

He has been over a "source of honour" to their chiefs, and of justice to their labouring classes and thus it was at this moment that the planless, powerless and Jagirless sirdars, disbanded soldiers and other fragments of Ranjit Singh's broken court, found in Sir Henry Lawrence a natural representative, such as they could find nowhere else. Fourteen years' service had given Henry a rare knowledge and

[1]G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 145.

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insight into their character and their needs. Dalhousie[1] in removing Henry from the Punjab "struck out the keystone from the arch of the Punjab administration." John himself confessed that he lacked that "stronger grip of men" which had been one of the principal causes of Henry's popularity.

The pacification of the Punjab in a short period of four years[2] would not have been possible without the softening influence of Henry. The foundation was so well laid by Henry that not even the storm of the Great Rebellion eight years later could shake it. The British Parliament regarded the joint rule of the Lawrences "unequalled for the thoroughness with which a disorganised state was brought into order, a turbulent race turned into a loyal and peaceful population. Roads were built throughout the length and breadth of the province, canals set going which made the waste places to blossom. People's cooperation was sought. An efficient sort of "semi-military police department was established."

The Punjab Frontier Force was raised. In short, the pioneers of the British rule in the Punjab were anxious to make the new province a durable and reliable bulwark of the British Empire in India.

The Punjab under the Chief Commissionership of Sir John Lawrence (1853-58)

The dissolution of the Board of Administration opened a new chapter in the history of the Punjab. The foundations of a strong administration had been laid and it now remained to develop, to organise, and to consolidate.

The Chief Commissioner was to be assisted by the Judicial Commissoner and the Financial Commissoner. They were like dictators. But their dictatorial powers had two redeeming features—"confidence and paternalism". Sir John brought the tribals under him by paternal behaviour and throughout the 1857 crisis, the tribals remained inactive and did not in the least embarrass the British. He adopted many diplomatic tactics for winning them over—one of them the system of granting "cash allowances to the influential chiefs, thereby giving them an interest in the Government." He

[1]Opinion of one of Henry's subordinates.

[2]The Board of Administration governed the Punjab from April 1848 to January 1853.

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encouraged friendly contacts between the district officers and the tribal chiefs. This system was called the "Sandeman System."[1] By this system the irrepressible tribes were turned into friendly tribes. Sir John abolished cordial relations with Kabul. Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Kabul was approaching Russia and the Shah of Persia that both might not invade his territory. On 30 March 1856 a treaty of friendship was signed in a public Durbar between Dost Muhammad and John Lawrence and assured John (C.-in-C.) of an understanding between the ferocious tribes and the British people.

The treaty of 1856 was reinforced by another treaty in January 1857 by which the Government of India gave some material aid to their ally against the Persian aggression. This was the most successful diplomatic alliance in Anglo-Afghan policies. Dost Muhammad held back all the tribes during the Mutiny of 1857. John's arrangements with the Amir proved very fortunate.

Secondly, the chief occupation of the Punjab being agriculture, he reduced the land revenue from one-third to one-fourth and then to one-sixth of the gross produce. This increased the production and thereby the increase in revenue also.

A scheme was prepared to cover the entire province with a network of railways. The first place to be connected was Multan with the sea-board of Karachi and then Multan with Amritsar. The Indus was made navigable. Steamers and improved boats were introduced. This navigation scheme later on helped the reinforcement of the troops in 1857.

The foundation of the electric telegraph was laid on a sound footing. At important places telegraph officers were located. To maintain internal peace in the country the Board organised a strong police force with a truly military discipline. Not only were the strength and efficiency of the police maintained but also certain improvements were effected in their organisation.

There used to be infanticide (killing of female offspring). John came to the conclusion that the vice could only be put down with the cooperation of the general people. He called a meeting of the influential people of all classes at Amritsar in 1853 and discussed

[1]Sademan was a Junior Deputy Commissioner at Dehra Ghazi Khan. He crossed the Indus and opened direct negotiations with the Bugti and Marri tribes and then later on he encouraged the Civil Officers to learn Pushtu and the tribes were given cash allowances for protecting the various passes.

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the matter at great length. By 1856, this practice practically came to an end. In 1856, he opened some schools and one Central College at Lahore to make education popular. He introduced the medium of education in the vernacular. Urdu became the medium of instruction. The system of justice was further improved. Small Causes Courts were established all over the province. The first one was established at Lahore in 1853.

The people who in 1849 disliked the British became their main source of help in 1857. The Sikhs were so securely won over by the British that not only did they not rise against them but actively helped the foreigners against their own countrymen. "It is certainly to the credit of the British", writes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his *The Discovery of India*[1] "that they could win over the Sikhs in this way." The credit goes partly to the people themselves and partly to the Law rence brothers. The people adopted the spirit of accommodation and cooperation towards the British. In 1852 just three years after the grim battles of Chillianwala and Gujarat, the Sikh Regiment even volunteered to go to Burma and fight under the British flag. No community in India had such a remarkable capacity for adaptation.

The administration of the Punjab[2] under Sir John made him immortal. He combined the enthusiasm of youth with the experience and far-sightedness of age.

[1]p. 384.
[2]See Appendix 1 and 2.

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Chapter 3

The Punjab and the Mutiny (1857-58)

On 10 May 1857, the Indian army at Meerut mutinied. The "greased cartridges" turned the discontent of the upper provinces into the caste-panic which became the immediate cause of the mutiny.

The dethroned feudal classes fanned the flames of revolt while general unrest was sweeping the country. The anti-British feeling was visible everywhere. The rebels starrted moving towards Delhi where, the last Mughal King, Bahadur Shah Zafar was lavishly passing his time.

Gordon[1] writes, the Punjab alone stood like a rock amidst the raging sea, holding out the British banner, when everywhere the foreigner was losing ground. The new province stood the test of time for the recovery of the British power.

Why did the mutiny fail in the Punjab? There was deep enmity between the Hindustani troops and the Punjabis. The latter regarded the former as an army of occupation and hated them ever since the first Sikh war. This Hindustani army revolted and the Punjabis felt that their chance had come. The feeling of nationalism and unity was absent: we have always suffered from "proverbial disunity" and lack of nationalism.

Secondly, the Sikhs had always disliked Delhi where their Guru Tegh Bahadur was cruelly done to death by Emperor Aurangzeb. The Sikhs had been yearning for a chance to plunder Delhi. "The March to Delhi" was a popular expedition. The new influential chiefs were enjoying the benefits from the new regime and were

[1]J. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, p. 210.

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not prepared to exchange security for anarchy. A succession of good harvests had also put them in good humour. Trade was flourishing. Then there was a general feeling also that no force could prevail against the English organisation. Punjab had no fear of foreign invasion; N.W.P. had been overcome by friendly relations.[1]

Such was the state of affairs when, on 10 May 1857, John received the news that the rebels were under control in Delhi.

Robert Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner at Lahore, was a man of iron will power and he immediately assessed the temper of the sepoys stationed at Mian Mir (Lahore Cantt.), disarmed them immediately and thus saved the Empire. A ball had been organised the previous night, and to avoid suspicion no change of programme was made.

Delhi was the focus of the great revolt. Lawrence being a diplomatic person, collected all his troops, consisting of various castes and religions e.g. (Hindus, Punjabis, Muhammadans, and Hill Rajputs). They presented the most loyal cooperation to the Government in maintaining peace at home and into destroying the mutineers.

John Lawrence was a perfect[2] combination of organisation, energy and foresight, while the mutineers lacked organisation and rose in haphazard fashion. The fear of pursuit by the British always created panic. The greatest tragedy was that the sepoys lacked leadership. The result was that Delhi fell to the British. Bahadur Shah was captured from the Red Fort and the main phase of this great revolt was over. There was not the slightest doubt that, had the Mughal capital not fallen by September, the Punjab would have been swept into the mainstream of rebellion. The stubborn resistance of the Rani of Jhansi against heavy odds is worthy of admiration.

After the fall of Delhi, John Lawrence took charge of the Delhi territory in February 1858. He immediately took up the reconstruction of the town. He combined all the three powers in one district officer—financial, legislative and judicial. He believed in undivided responsibility. He got the services of the Sikhs to put down the mutineers. The whole British nation hailed him as a great statesman who, by his energy, resolution, and far-sightedness, saved the British Empire[3] in India.

[1] *Mutiny Reports*, vol. VIII, part II, p. 238. P.G.R.
[2] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence 1857*, p. 143.
[3] Trotter, *Saviour of India: Lord Lawrence*, p. 229.

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British rule[1] came to be recognised as dispensation of providence and India settled down with that resignation which is one of our national characteristics.

The role played by John in putting[2] down the mutiny is the most brilliant chapter of his life. He showed a perfect union of organisation, energy and foresight.

In February 1859,[3] he sailed for England and five years later he returned to India as Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

[1]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I, p. 7.

[2]The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India, September 11, 1857, Serial no. 63, Mutiny Records, P.G.R.

[3]See Appendix 2.

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Chapter 4

Punjab Between Mutiny and Morley-Minto Reforms (1857-1909)

The severity and harshness[1] of the measures adopted by the foreign rulers in suppressing the 1857 revolt left the people highly demoralised and depressed. But in an indirect manner the unsuccessful revolt might be said to have contributed to the emergence of the national movement at a later date. It made many Indians realise that the revolt failed because they were a house divided against itself. Before the mutiny the Englishmen came into frequent and intimate contact with their Indian friends and were influenced by their opinions and views, but afterthe mutiny it was less so, and the Britishers began to deal with Indians purely in an official capacity. Life came to be divided between the office and the club, which led persons like Kipling to remark that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." The revolt had other effects also. It made the British Government realise that the only way to save the small number of Europeans from being overwhelmed by the united strength of the Hindus and the Muslims was to keep the two communities apart. The mutiny was made[2] possible by and demonstrated the existence of a good deal of amity and mutual sympathy and cooperation between the Hindus and the Muslims. The British statesmen set themselves to the task of driving a wedge between them and greatly succeeded in their efforts. They reorganised the

[1]Sisir Kumar Mitra, *Resurgent India*, p. 36.
[2]Ibid., pp. 36-37.

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Indian army on a new basis after the mutiny. Previously there was no separation or division by caste or clan.

The Hindus and the Muslims, the Jats and the Sikhs and the Purbeas, were mixed up so that each and all lost to some extent their social or sectarian prejudices and developed a rare spirit of comradeship. Regiments and battalions came to be based on sectarian, caste and class distinctions. The evil effects of this recognisation manifested themselves even before and after the Partition when soldiers forgot their duty and began killing those whom it was their duty to protect, for no other reason than that they belonged to a different community.

Outside the army effect was given to the policy of 'divide and rule' by encouraging one community and suppressing the other. The Muhammadan community was the first to be penalised and later on it was the turn of the Hindus to be treated in a discriminating way. The Hindu-Muslim problem may thus be regarded as a product of the post-mutiny period. The good effect of the revolt was that the statesmen in England began to think of satisfying some of the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people. Queen Victoria issued a proclamation that her subjects of "whatever race or creed will be freely admitted to office in our service", the East India Company's rule came to an end and the Crown assumed the responsibility of governing the country.

The first to be penalised were the Muslims when the British adopted the policy of *divide et impera*. They sided with the Hindus as was evident when Lord Ellenbrough (Secretary of State) declared that "The race [Muslim] is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore, our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus." In 1871 there were 2141 gazetted posts and of these 1238 were occupied by Europeans, 711 by Hindus, and only 92 by Muslims.

Soon after the mutiny, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan[1] started the journal called the *Loyal Mohammedans of India*. He tried to bring about religious rapproachement between the Muslims and the Christians. He also wrote a commentary on the Bible called the *Tabyniul-Kalam*. The publication of Sir William Hunter's book, *The Indian Mussalman* in 1871, marks the beginning of the new turn in the British policy of divide and rule. Muslims belonging to the old aristocratic families were not quite reconciled to the idea of living

[1]Founder of the Aligarh Muslim University in Uttar Pradesh.

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as equal, with Hindus in a country over which men of their faith had ruled for over six centuries. Their claim for special treatment by the Government was partly based on what they called their political importance an inheritors of traditions of dominance.

At first Sir Syed's ideas were national. He presided over the Aligarh meeting in favour of holding simultaneous examination of the ICS in England and India. He gave his hearty support to the Ilbert Bill.[1] In 1884, during the Punjab tour, he spoke of the common interest of all the communities. While delivering a speech in Punjab on 27 January 1884 he said; "We [Hindus and Muslims] should try to become one heart and soul and act in unison. If united, we can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both."

But Sir Syed's love for his community proved stronger than that for his adopted motherland. He advised the Muslims to keep aloof from the Hindus, because in his opinion the Anglo-Muslim alliance was more profitable for the Muslim community than cooperation with the Hindus. In 1887, he organised the Muslim Educational Conference, which began to hold its session, like the Congress, every year. He became an arch enemy of the Congress and a rank communalist. This revolutionary change was brought about by Sir Syed and by Mr Beck, the English Principal of the Aligarh College who misled Syed into believing that, while an Anglo-Muslim alliance would ameliorate the condition of the Muslim community, joining the nationalist agitation would lead them once again to sweat, toil and tears. In order to counteract the growing power of the Congress, the British bureaucrats were busy finding friends among the Muslims to start their policy of divide and rule. Thus, the Britishers were busy in disintegrating the Indians, and the policy of rallying the loyalist Muslims was fully established by Mr Beck.

Under his guidance, the Aligarh Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental School was opened in 1874. It served as both a notice and a challenge to the Hindus and the British rulers that the Muslims in India were no more apathetic to the new education and its advantages. Sir Syed's ambition was to make the College a model like

[1]He compared Hindus and Muslims to the two eyes of a beautiful bride whose face would be disfigured if either one or the other was injured (*Majmua Lecturehai Sir Syed* (Urdu), Munshi Sirajuddin edition, Balaji Press, 1892, pp. 117-21.

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Oxford and Cambridge.[1] Nevertheless, the College became the centre of what is known as the "Aligarh Movement" and made a tremendous impact on the life and thought of the Muslim community. By 1885, rapproachement factors with the English had further developed. In Europe, the dismemberment of Turkey by Russia had been checked by Great Britain, and the British policy towards Afghanistan was undergoing a favourable change. The fear of a Russian advance towards central Asia was obliging Great Britain to move with great care in her dealings with the Muslim countries.[2] At home the old hatred was giving place to a new policy of befriending the Muslims. It began with the publication of William Hunters' *Indian Musalmans* in 1871. He was the first impassioned advocate of the Muslims and the other was Mr Beck.

To promote this policy Lord Hort Brook, John Strachey, donated liberally to the College funds. W.W. Hunter, Chairman of the Education Commission of 1882, had held the first meeting of the Commission at Aligarh. Alfred Lyall praised the founders of the Aligarh College for rendering a great service to the Government. Tension started growing between both the Hindu and Muslim communities.

Then the meeting of the Indian National Congress on 28 December 1885, seems to have upset Syed Ahmad Khan. He also started a parallel movement and became mutually suspicious. Both communities developed an attitude of superiority over the other, this was further helped by the discriminatory treatment of the Government and both the communities delivered their destinies into the hands of the third party. In the[3] meantime the Arya Samaj movement started under the dynamic leadership of Swami Dayananda and made an impact on the revival of Hindu society which led to ugly demonstrations and collision with the Muslims. In 1881, the first communal riot took place at Multan. Then in 1893, there were riots in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Bombay. Both the Government and the Muslims blamed the Hindus. The seeds for 'divide and rule, had been successfully sown.

[1]He visited England, in 1870 and after a stay of two years he settled down in Aligarh. He started the Urdu Journal on return from England *Tahdhibul Akhalaq* (social reform) and later on stopped it.

[2]The Durbar at Rawalpindi to welcome Amir Abdul Rahman Khan of Afghanistan.

[3]Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India* .

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In 1872, Hindi was made the Court language in nine districts of Uttar Pradesh instead of Urdu, this increased communal tension. Sir Syed advised a break with the Hindus and it was further strengthened by Theodore Beck who was appointed the Principal of the College in 1886. He said the editorship of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* be handed over to him so that he could use its columns to denounce the National Congress.

Tilak started[1] the Ganpati festival in Poona in 1888 and Beck took advantage of the situation and founded the Muhammadan Defence Association to fight the Hindu revivalist movement and the National Congress. It is a pity that Sir Syed followed the views of Beck and opposed every Congress Resolution. Judged by any standards, he was a great man. By his magnificent lead of the Muslim community he converted the suspicion and hostility of the rulers into confidence and friendship which ultimately led to the growth of the Muslim League in 1906. In 1898, he died.

There were other Muslim organisations which followed suit but the most important movement was the Deoband movement which started in 1867 and which had a nationalist attitude.

The reaction of the Muslim community, therefore, was satisfactory and they won over the confidence of the rulers, while the policy of divide and rule gained strength and the wedge between the two communities was completely drawn resulting in 1905, in the partition of Bengal. It was a clever move to drive away the Muslims from Bengal's national movement. The bureaucracy was busy in disintegrating the Indians. It was the reaction of the non-Muslims and the Nationalist response to the new challenge. They were rallying the loyalists, the moderates Muslims, the princes and the landed magnates, and there was a strong reaction by the non-Muslims which resulted in the birth of the Indian National Congress.

Reaction of the Non-Muslims and the Nationalist Response to the New Challenge

Before the birth of Indian National Movement reference has to be made to the Renaissance Movement. This Renaissance in India was the result of the impact of the West. Principal personalities intimately connected were Swami Dayananda, Swami Ramakrishna

[1] *History of the Freedom Movement in India.*

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and Swami Vivekananda. Raja Ram Mohan Roy is regarded as the prophet of Indian Nationalism and re-awakening. The spirit of India was awakened in the minds of these eminent men and they started preaching the recovery of its spiritual heritage.

The first task was completed by Swami Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Ramtirtha, Sri Aurobindo, Maharishi Raman, and Mahatma Gandhi. They recovered much of the old spiritual knowledge and experience. In the hands[1] of men like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee[2], J.C. Bose, Radhakrishanan and Rabindranath Tagore[3] the old spiritual knowledge flowed into literature and philosophy. The greatest contribution of Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828 reacted upon the political consciousness of educated Bengalis. Swami Ramakrishna preached for intensive faith and self-surrender based on the *Upanishads* which was later followed by Swami Vivekananda, who preached that religion alone was the backbone of the life of the Indian people. He addressed the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. He inspired the national and revolutionary movement in Bengal, while the ground for national awakening was being prepared by another great son of India, Swami Dayananda Saraswati.

Swami Dayananda has been[4] hailed as a "Soldier of Light" and one of the greatest workers of the new India. Under the guidance of his great Guru, Swami Virajanand he studied the *Vedas* and regarded them as the true source for the revival of Hinduism. He founded the Arya Samaj for the formation of a new national character on the basis of the Vedic ideas.

He was the first one to teach the ideas of Swadeshi. The first branch of Arya Samaj was established in Bombay in 1875 and the second in Lahore in 1877. The Arya Samaj turned out to be a more active organisation than the Brahmo Samaj. It made the three movements of far-reaching character which it started, e.g. "Suddhi, Sanghatan and education."

"Suddhi" is the term given to the process by which persons converted from Hinduism to other faiths, willingly or forcibly are

[1]R.C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Calcutta, 1962, p. 180.

[2]See Appendix 3.

[3]See Appendix 3.

[4]R.C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, p. 182.

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brought back to the Hindu fold, thereby it revived the very old tradition of admitting non-Hindus into the Hindu fold. By "Sanghathan" it means organising and uniting the Hindus "nationally, socially and religiously". For Suddhi and Sanghathan the Arya Samaj movement was much disliked and criticised by the Muslims and it came to be regarded as the militant and aggressive branch of Hinduism. These items infused a new life among the Hindus. The Samaj gave to the nation a large number of important political leaders, the most well known of whom were Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shradhanandaji.

The educational work of the[1] Arya Samaj is also very extensive. The D.A.V. College at Lahore was the most important institution in the Punjab and paved the way for those at Kanpur and Dehra Dun in Uttar Pradesh. Several *Gurukuls* were also started where education was imparted on old traditions.

Swami Dayananda was the first and foremost social and religious reformer and in no sense a political leader. The Arya Samaj became politically suspect in the eyes of the foreign government whose agents kept a strict watch over the activities of its leaders, whose work had tremendous political implications.

The Arya Samaj movement contributed greatly to the awakening of the national movement in India especially in the north. It helped them to meet the challenge of Christianity and Islam.

Side by side with the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society founded by Annie Besant[2] started work in India towards the revival of Hinduism. She established the Central Hindu College at Banaras which later on developed into the Banaras Hindu University founded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya.

Mrs Besant met the challenge created by the Christian and Muslim missionary workers. She helped in promulgating nationalism in the country through the two journals, the weekly *Commonweal* and the daily *New India*. She advocated the cause of Home Rule for India in these journals with so much fearlessness and courage that the Government interned her and the internment stirred up great popular agitation. Western education as well as the cause of national awakening were firmly and securely laid by the religious renaissance which was begun by Raja Ram Mohan Roy

[1]R.C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, p. 183.
[2]See Appendix 3.

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and later fostered by Swami Dayananda Swami Ramakrishna, [1]Swami Vivekananda, and by Mrs Annie Besant.

This religious renaissance became the chief cause of political awakening in the country. It was the religious teachings of Smarth Guru Ram Das Ji which made the rise of the Maharatta power possible under Shivaji and it was the same religious teachings which laid the foundation of the Sikh power in the Punjab.

As a result, the Hindus began to think and speak of Hindu nationalism and the Muslims that of Islamic nationalism. Thus the foundations of the nation theory were laid, which later on was advocated by Jinnah and ultimately led to the partition of the country. It did not strike the protagonists of the theory that the term Hindu or Muslim nationalism was self-contradictory. Nation is a purely[2] territorial, secular and political concept and religion, race and language have no necessary relevance to it.

The reaction of the non-Muslims to the national movement was mainly based on the revival of the old cultural heritage which gave way completely under the Muslim rule and then under the British rule was revived by the teachings of these great men. Secondly, the birth of Press and its development made a notable contribution to the growth of nationalism in the country. The rapid growth of the newspapers hastened the pace of the political awakening among the people. Every big leader had his own paper to propagate his views e.g. Raja Ram Mohan Roy had his Bengali weekly *Sambad Kaumudi*, Sri Aurobindo his own *Jugantra* and *Bande Matram*, Lokmanya Tilak his the *Maharatta* and the *Kesari*, Lala Lajpat Rai[3] had *Bande Matram*, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru his *Independent*, Mrs Annie Besant her *New India* and Gandhiji his *Young India*; Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Azad also had their own papers. *The Tribune* from Lahore fearlessly voiced the grievances of the people in the cause of nationalism.

These papers were crusades against the foreign domination which ultimately led to the birth of the Indian National Congress. Besides the spread of western education and the works of great western thinkers e.g. Milton, Burke, Mill, Macauley, H. Spencer, Rousseau,

[1]Jawaharlal Nehru: Men like Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Gandhiji are great unifying forces, the great constructive geniuses of the world." (*The Discovery of India*).

[2]Ibid., p. 14.

[3]See Appendix 3.

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Voltair, Mazzini, Carlyle and Ruskin and the growth of the Indian Press, the cause of nationalism was greatly influenced by the emergence of literature. Significant contribution was made by Bankim Chandra Chatterjie[1] who composed the national song 'Bande Matram'. Tagore's songs provide the best illustration of the influence of patriotic literature on the growth of the spirit of nationalism.

The influence of the highly[2] centralised administrative system which united the whole country from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Assam to Sind and the quick and safe means of communications also paved the way for the people to think in terms of one country. The presence of All India Services assisted in the growth of the idea of India as one country and her people as consisting of one nation.

British rule was also responsible for causing the emergence of a very strong middle-class which greatly helped the revival of nationalism.

Surendra Nath Banerjea was refused admission[3] to the ICS on technical grounds. What the Government lost, the country gained; and what he did on his return from England was to organise the Indian Association for creating a strong body of public opinion in the country and the unification of the Indian races upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations, which ultimately grew into the Indian National Congress.

The agitation conducted by the Indian Association for the dismissal of Surendra Nath Banerjea was to a great extent successful as the Indians began to be appointed as district magistrates and session judges in the country. But according to the then law, the Europeans could be tried only by European judges. The Indian Association made a representation to Lord Ripon, and Sir Courtney Ilbert introduced a Bill in the Legislative Council in 1883 whose object was to abolish this discrimination and bring the European and British subjects under the jurisdiction of Indian judges and magistrates. The Bill was greatly resented by the British community in India. The Indians did not sit idle, and some sort of compromise was made that half the members of the jury

[1]1876, birth of Bande Matram by Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1828-1894). See Appendix 3.

[2]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. II, p. 80.

[3]Ibid., pp. 80-81.

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should be Europeans. The Ilbert Bill agitation was an eye-opener for the Indians in several ways. It resulted in demonstrating the value of organised resistance on a national scale everywhere in the country, especially in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and in the N.W.F.P.

Indians, therefore, convened an All India National Conference at Calcutta in 1883 and it was presided over by Surendra Nath Banerjea. The enthusiasm and eagerness which characterised its activities were to become the features of the Indian National Congress. A national fund was also started simultaneously for carrying on the national struggle.

The role of spiritual renaissance[1] started by Raja Ram Mohan Roy was greatly helped by the impact of western education and civilization. The role of the British rulers was to promote and protect their British interests which generated the spirit of nationalism in our country.

It was the clash of the British and Indian interests which culminated in the Ilbert Bill agitation and brought home to the Indians the prime necessity of having an all-India political organisation devoted purely to political activities. The result was the All India National Conference at Calcutta in 1883.

Nationalist Response to the New Challenge: The Birth of the National Congress

While activities were taking place and new associations were being formed in different places, the Press was urging the people to unite on a common platform under a common standard. By a curious coincidence the idea of organising the intelligentsia of the country occurred to Allen Octavian Hume.[2]

Hume was deeply depressed by the economic sufferings of the masses and felt that there should be legitimate outlet for their discontent along constitutional lines. Accordingly[3] he addressed a letter to the graduates of Calcutta University, earnestly appealing to them to form an organisation for promoting the mental, moral, social and political progress of the Indian people. This appeal

[2]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, p. 85.
[1]Hume was a secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce.
[3]Desai, A.R. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, p. 271.

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resulted in the formation of the Indian National Union in 1884. He even went to England and got the official sanction for it.

The first conference was started at Bombay on 27 December 1885 under the presidentship of W. C. Bonnerji. The National Conference was merged into it. The Congress was intended to be first a social conference.[1] Lord Dufferin also gave a tacit approval to it. In Hume's own words, "A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces was urgently needed and no more effective safety value than our Congress movement could possibly be devised."

Nand Lal Chatterjee advances the hypothesis that Hume wanted to make the Congress a counterpoise to Russian intrigue for fomenting troubles in the country. Hume became[2] the First Secretary to the Indian National Congress and continued till his death in 1912.

The character and objects of the Congress, (i.e. the Nationalist response), as its name indicates, was in the nature of a national organisation from the very beginning and it has remained national to the present day because it represents all interests and all communities and speaks on behalf of the Indian nation as a whole.[3] Since its inception in 1885, members of different communities and persons hailing from all parts of the country have helped it to become what it is today, or at least what it was till the advent of national independence. It was A.O. Hume who conceived its idea and in its infancy it was nursed by two great and noble-minded Parsis, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji. From its start it had the goodwill of noble and patriotic Muslims like Badruddin Tyabji and of eminent Christians like Shri W.C. Bonnerje. Its sessions have rotated from place to place and the presidents have been chosen from all different communities. The decision to hold its annual session in rural areas was first given effect in 1937. Its national character was emphasised by Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his speech at the First Round Table Conference.

The aim of the Congress[4] was to organise public opinion in the country, and later on the aim was Swaraj, and at a still later date,

[1]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, p. 114.
[2]Nand Lal Chatterjee, *Modern Review*, October 1950, p. 72.
[3]N.S. Bose, *The Indian National Movement*, p. 29.
[4]Pradhan, *India's Struggle for Swaraj*, p. 25.

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total independence. The method adopted by the Congress (i.e. the Nationalist response) was at first the method of prayer and petition, because the great bulk of Congress leaders were imbued with the spirit of mid-Victorian liberalism and were bent upon winning freedom by gradual steps. But the critics regarded it as "political mendicancy".

Lord Dufferin ridiculed[1] the Congress as a microscopic minority of the people. He also advised the Muslims to oppose the Congress and its demands. Government officials also began to criticise the Congressmen and it forbade its officials from attending its sessions even as visitors, because the Congressmen, in the words of Percival Spear, became more and more critical in their demand for the liberalisation of the Legislative Council, and more and more critical of the Government and its policies. At that time, the tide was turning in favour of the Muslims and the policy of divide-and-rule was gaining ground.

Simultaneously, there was the[2] birth of the New Nationalism in the new personna of Extremists. There was in the air, the restoration of pride in our ancient civilization. Swami Vivekananda's speeches were mainly responsible for the birth of the new nationalism in our country. He delivered his famous speech at the Parliament of Religions in 1893 at Chicago; it was like a bombshell and took the whole world by surprise. His teachings revolutionised the mind of young Bengal and made a profound impresssion on the country as a whole. He inaugurated the historic struggle for equality between the East and the West.[3] Swami Vivekananda "Paved the way[4] for the ideas of 1905 and was thus in a great manner a Rousseau of the Bengali revolution."

Again in 1893, Aurobindo Ghosh returned to India after his fourteen years' stay in England and joined the Baroda State Service. What a strange coincidence that in one and the same year, 1893, Swami, Vivekananda should go to the West to illumine it with the light of the East, and another great son of India, Aurobindo Ghosh should come home to liberate the Mother and through her to liberate the world. It may be added that in this very year Tilak started the Ganpati festival. Shri Aurobindo opposed the policy of protest,

[1]Pradhan, *India's Struggle for Swaraj*, pp. 25-26.
[2]Ibid., p 27.
[3]Haridas and Uma Mukerjee, *India's Struggle for Freedom*, p. 112.
[4]Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *Swami Vivekananda*, p. 48.

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prayer and petitioning and called for a new bold and courageous line of action for the salvation of the country, which was opposed by Mahadev Ranade who was a power behind the policy of "drawing-room politicians"[1] or piecemeal reformers.

In Maharashtra the new spirit found its best exponent in Bal Gangadhar Tilak who is described by Sri Aurobindo as the "captain of the national aspiration." He gave expression to it in the historic saying, "Freedom is our birth-right and we shall have it." Tilak made Swaraj the goal of national struggle.

Tilak organised the Ganpati and Shivaji festivals and even carried the message to the masses in the rural areas also. In the Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai added a similar level to politics. This extremists' group was led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chander Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. The trio is generally known as Lal-Bal-Pal.

A disastrous famine broke out followed by plague in Bombay Presidency in 1896-97, but the Government paid little heed to it and resentment among the people ran very high. Riots broke out in Poona and Mr. Rand was shot dead. Tilak was tried for having instigated the murder of Rand and was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

Lord Curzon's highly reactionary policy was full of missions, omissions and commissions. His frontier policy and his mission to Lhasa were bitterly criticised.[2]

The Official Secrets Act, the Calcutta Corporation Act and the Indian Universities Act were against the spirit of the times and evoked universal protest. Worse still was his act of the partition of Bengal in 1904—the year of the Battle of Tushima[3]—when Japan had defeated an European power, Russia.

Two things[4] combined to inflame public opinion in Bengal and in India as a whole against the partition. It was generally[5] believed that the partition was designed for driving a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims of the province and to create disunity among them. In the words of Zacharias, "the whole purpose and effect of the measure was Machiavellian." Lord Curzon toured

[1]Quoted in Haridas and Uma Mukerjee's *India's Struggle for Freedom*, p. 121.

[2]Andrews, *The Rise and Growth of the Congress*, p. 193. Curzon Papers Curzon to Brodrick, 2, February 1905.

[3]Zacharias, *Renascent India*.

[4–5]See Appendix 3.

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East Bengal and addressed huge gatherings of Muslims to convince them to create a province where Islam could be predominant and its followers in ascendancy. There was widespread agitation against it but the Government did not pay any heed, and the province was partitioned on 19 July 1905.

People hit upon the idea of boycotting British-manufactured goods as a retaliatory measure until the partition was annulled. A new organisation came into existence to propagate the twin ideas of Swadeshi and Boycott. 16 October 1905 was observed as the Rakhi Bandan day. The agitation against the Partition took on the form of a national struggle. A new spirit of nationalism was thus born. Sri Aurobindo resigned from his job at Baroda and came to Bengal to lead the struggle. By way of retaliation against Government repression and brutality a new phenomenon, the terrorist movement, made its appearance.

The split[1] occurred at the Surat Congress Session in 1907 and the Government came to the help of the Moderates. It deported Lala Lajpat Rai to Burma and locked up Sri Aurobindo. Tilak was sentenced to a six years' term. They were deprived of their leaders and without any organisation to sustain their national character. It was only at the Lucknow Session in 1916 that the reunited Congress Session was held (It had split at Bangalore in 1909).

Political consciousness was awakened considerably with the growth of the middle class. The number of newspapers and their readers were rapidly growing, which attested to the growing interest of the people in politics. The basis of imperialism is force and its instrument is military power. Imperialism and militarism support each other. They flourish at the expense of the races under their subjection, especially when the races are different.[2]

Hobson added "Imperialism and Popular Government have nothing in common; they differ in spirit, in policy, in method."

Thus, Imperialism took on the guise of the "White Man's Burden" policy and with it were added others—power, pride and prestige. The gulf between the rulers and the ruled had widened.

It was this type of relationship between the Englishman and the Indian which was more responsible for the awakening of self-

[1]Quoted in Surendra Nath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, p. 229.
[2]J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study India*, London, p. 287.

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consciousness, the burning realisation of humiliation and the creation of a sense of frustration, than almost any other aspect of British rule.

The New Nationalism of Tilak[1], Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Sri Aurobindo differed from that of the old guard which was designated as moderate and was prompted by the veterans like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Gopal Krishan Gokhale and others. "Our old public life was based on the frank and loyal acceptance of British rule but the new teaching condemns all faith in the British Government as childish and all hope of real progress under it as rash." But while the old guard were never made to suffer for their partriotism by the British Government, leaders of the New Nationalist Movement were sent behind bars repeatedly.

Side by side with the extremist movement, a terrorist movement also started. This was the cult of the bomb in the country. The novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji,[2] the speeches of Swami Vivekananda, also of Tilak, produced a climate in the country favourable to the rise of revolutionary activities. These revolutionary activities became quite aggressive all over the country especially in Maharashtra. In the Punjab a regular Ghadar Party was formed under the leadership of L. Hardayal. These revolutionaries were active in England also. Some of the Punjab revolutionaries[3] threw a bomb at Lord Hardinge in Delhi.

The terrorist movement, however, did not make any great contribution to the national movement. The passion for freedom once aroused cannot be easily suppressed. Meanwhile Gandhiji appeared on the political scene of the country with his novel message of *ahimsa*. They not only suspended their movement but gave full support to Gandhiji.

More important in its effects[4] on the national movement than the activities of the revolutionaries was the demon of communalism, which began to appear in the country and which is connected with the birth of the Muslim League and proved to be a highly retrograding force. It finally led to the division of the country. The

[1]Surendra Nath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, pp. 230-31.
[2]See Appendix 3.
[3]See Appendix 3.
[4]Surendra Nath Benerjea, *A Nation in Making*, pp. 231-32.

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seeds of this spirit were sown by the British rulers of India in pursuit of their policy of divide-and-rule in order to checkmate the forces of nationalism and prolong their sway over them.

Role of the British in generating the spirit of communalism was gaining strength.

The revolt of 1857 made the British rulers of India realise that the only way to save the small number of Britishers from being overwhelmed by the teeming millions of the country and to secure the safety and stability of British rule was to keep the various communities apart from one another and prevent them from uniting in a common effort to overthrow their rule. Mounstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay during the Company regime, once wrote, "*divide et impera* was the old Roman motto and it[1] should be ours." With all their famed skill and diplomacy, the English rulers decided to put themselves between the Hindus and Muslims and so to create a communal triangle of which they would remain the base.

But the sentiment of nationalism was fast growing and people were becoming conscious of their rights.

The Indian National Congress had already taken its birth and the growth of such a sentiment could never be welcome to the foreign government which, in order to maintain its stability, found it necessary to take steps to prevent the Muslims from joining the national movement.

The part played by Beck who had come over to Aligarh as the first English Principal of the M.A.O. College played a vital role which has already been mentioned. He was a great empire builder and successfully kept the Muslims away from the national movement.

In his small brochure, *Communalism in India: Its Origin and Growth*[2], Abdul Majid Khan (of F.C. College, Lahore) has collected together sufficient material to prove that the Hindu-Muslim problem was deliberately created and the division between the Hindus and the Muslims intentionally fostered by the British rulers with a view to strengthening and preserving their rule in the country. Abdul Majid Khan traces the origin of this problem to 1888 when the

[1]Asoka Mehta and Achut Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India*, p. 52.

[2]Abdul Majid Khan, *Communalism in India: Its Origin and Growth*, p. 17.

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Dufferin Reforms Committee definitely proposed that steps be taken to secure the representation of various "classes and interests."

Speaking on the Indian Councils Bill of 1892, Lord Kimberley demanded on his own initiative that some provision should be made for the representation of minorities.[1]

Interested parties were there to blame the Hindus for injustice shown to the Muslims.[2] The idea that the Muslims were a separate community and that their future lay in cooperation with the Government and not in siding with the Hindus was first placed before them by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He can, therefore, be regarded as the father of communal thinking among the Muslims of India.

The growing strength of the Indian National Congress made the Government realise that they could hold India only by preventing the union of the two great communities, in the demand for Swaraj. The first step in this direction was taken by Lord Curzon by creating the new province of East Bengal and Assam where the Muslims were in majority. The partition[3] of Bengal thus gave a great stimulus to communalism.

Lord Minto took the next great step by introducing the obnoxious system of separate communal electorates for the Muslims.

The National Congress was pressing for further reforms but the British Government paid no heed until the growth of extremism and the emergence of terrorism forced its hands, but the Government wanted to keep the Muslims on its side. It also welcomed the idea of the Muslims having an organisation of their own which could be effectively used as a counterpoise to the Congress.

The Muslims were a subject of discussion among the officials in the summer of 1906 in Simla and Nainital.

Principal Archibald of M.A.O.[4] College, Aligarh was also at Simla during those months and held talks with the Government officials. He wrote a letter from there to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk (successor to Sir Syed at Aligarh) as the leader of the Muslim loyalists. It contains the following:

[1]Quoted in Abdul Majid Khan, *Communalism in India: Its Origin and Growth*, p. 18.

[2]Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, p. 199.

[3]See Appendix 3.

[4]Quoted in Mehta and Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India*, p. 62.

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Colonel Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary of His Excellency the Viceroy, "informed me that His Excellency is agreeable to receive the Muslim Deputation. He advised that a formal letter requesting permission to wait on His Excellency be sent to him. In this connection I would like to make a few suggestions. The formal letter should be sent with the signatures of some representative Mussalmans. The Deputation should consist of the representatives of all provinces. He further suggested that we begin with a Solemn expression of loyalty. The Government step of 'Self-Government' should be appreciated. But our apprehension should be expressed that the principle of election, if introduced, would prove detrimental to the interests of the Muslim minority."

It should respectfully be suggested that nomination or representation by religion be introduced to meet Muslim opinion. We should also say that in a country like India due weight must be given to the views of Zamindars. In elections it would be very difficult for the Muslims to secure their due share. But in all these views I must be in the background. They must come from you—I can prepare the draft of the address or revise it.

It was decided to take a deputation to Simla and present an address to the Viceroy. Agha Khan who was on his way to Europe was called back from Aden to lead the deputation which consisted of upper and upper-middle class Muslim leaders. It was received by the Viceroy on 1 October 1906. The address it presented to the Viceroy was signed by "Nobles, Jagirdars, Taluqdars, Merchants and others, representing a large body of Muslim subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor."[1] If faithfully carried out the suggestions made by Principal Archibald and, after expressing loyalty to the British Crown, made the following demands on behalf of the Indian Muslims:[2]

1. Any kind of representation direct or indirect should be made for the Muslims keeping in view the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago.

2. Secondly that the Muslims should be given the right of sending their own representatives through separate communal electorates. It demanded due proportion in government services, and the

[1]Ramsay Macdonald, *Awakening of India*, pp. 175-76.
[2]Ibid.

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elimination of the competitive element to the Civil Services. The address also voiced the desire of the Muslims to have a university of their own which should be the centre of their religious and intellectual life.

The biographer of Lord Minto describes the Viceroy's reply as a "charter of Islamic rights". The Viceroy very naturally found himself in complete accord with the demands of the deputationists, because they simply echoed his own innermost wishes and ideas.

Maulana Mohammad Ali once described the deputation which waited upon Lord Minto at Simla as a "command performance." Maulana Abul Kalam Azad also held the view that the deputation and the address it presented were all "manoeuvred from Simla." Ramsay Macdonald[1] wrote, "The Muslim leaders are inspired by certain Anglo-Indian officials; these officials have pulled wires at Simla and in London and sowed discord between the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities by showing the Muslims special favours."

The fact that the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, initially favoured a scheme of mixed joint electorates for the Muslims, as outlined by the Government of India who refused to proceed with his proposals for further reforms unless the Muslim demand for "separate electorates" was conceded.

The growth of extremism and the emergence of terrorism in the country led the Government to the conclusion that by any means the Muslims must be prevented from making common cause with the Hindus. Consequently the Government of India reserved all the favours and patronage for the members of the loyalist Muslim League and left the Muslims outside the League high and dry. No Muslim except the Leaguers were invited to the Round Table. Without the backing and support of the British Government the League could not have survived and prospered.

Establishment of the League[2]

The deputationists left Simla in order to organise the Muslims for receiving Government favours. A meeting of the leading Muslim leaders was called at Dacca and a large number of Muslims from

[1]Ramsay Macdonald, *Awakening of India*, p. 176.
[2]Mohammad Raza Khan, *What Price Freedom*, p. 10.

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all over the country met there on 30 December 1906 and resolved to establish a political association of the Indian Muslims which came to be known as the Muslim League.

The aims and objectives were absolutely communal in nature.

The League placed the negative aim of preventing the development among the Muslims of India of a feeling of fraternity towards other communities, and not the positive goal of promoting communal accord and amity. The aim of the League was to strengthen and support that the British rule is better revealed in the following extract from a speech of Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk delivered[1] at Aligarh; "God forbid, if the British rule disappears from India, Hindus will lord over us, and we will be in constant danger of our life, property and honour. . . ."

It makes it abundantly clear that the League was meant to be an orgnisation of the loyalist Muslims and to function as a counterpoise against the seditious Hindu Congress. The demand for colonial 'self-government' made by the Congress was anathema to it. Agha Khan who was its permanent President, and Sir Ali Imam who officiated for him, ridiculed the idea of self-government for India. Sir Ali Imam asked the Congress to be realistic and practical and to be loyal to the Government. Throughout[2] its life the League maintained an alliance with the bureaucracy, its leaders never came into conflict with the foreign rulers. The Muslims gradually began to think that they constituted a distinct and separate community having no common interests with the Hindus and that no fusion of the communities was possible.

The natural issue of this sentiment was the demand for Pakistan. The separate electorates became a bone of contention, and the effects of communalism on the national struggle for freedom resulted in the partition of the country. The Congress opposed the system of separate electorates as it was anti-national and undemocratic. The separate electorate with weightage was given to the Muslims.

It was given effect to in the Minto-Morley reforms. The opposition of the Congress to the principle of separate electorates confirmed the Muslims in their belief by making common cause with the Government rather than by collaborating with the Congress.

[1]Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University.
[2]Ram Gopal, op. cit., p. 101.

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All this paved the way for the growth of Hindu communalism. Many far-sighted and patriotic Muslims, both in and outside the ranks of the Congress, opposed this principle. Prominent among them was Mohammad Ali Jinnah who moved a resolution denouncing it at the 1910 Congress Session. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others also opposed it and described it as an irreconciliable ulster in India.[1]

But the mischievous system was introduced in our country in 1910 as the most suitable means of giving effect to the policy of divide-and-rule. The Congress, in spite of its opposition in 1906, was compelled by the force of circumstances to accept the separate electorates in 1916. But the nationalist Muslims were at work, which temporarily weakened the alliance between the bureaucracy and the Muslim League and Maulana criticised the League policy and method in his papers *Al Hilal*, *Comrade*, and *Hamdard*. The League accepted 'self-government' as its goal and brought it closer to the Congress. More important was the disappointment and disillusionment caused by the announcement of the King Emperor on the occasion of the Delbi Durbar in 1911 annulling[2] the partition of Bengal.

The events in Turkey also played[3] an important role in shaking the loyalty of the Indian Muslims to the British Government. The attitude of the Government of Great Britain was unfriendly towards Turkey in the Turko-Italian war and also in the Balkan which ended with the diminution of the dominion of the Turkish Sultan in Europe who was the Khalifa of the Muslim community all the world over. The Indian Muslims viewed with alarm the decline in the secular power of the Khalifa. The Muslims regarded it as a grave conspiracy of the European powers to drive out Turkey, described as the "sick man of Europe".

The Government of India viewed the sympathy of the Indian Muslims towards Turkey as a part of the pan-Islamic movement which was gathering strength in the country. It decided to suppress the movement. The Punjab Government took action against the editors of these Zamidars, Maulana Zafar Ali, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali for the duration of the First World War which broke

[1]Ulster, bone of contention in Ireland.
[2]Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. II, p. 359. Also see Appendix 3.
[3]Ibid.

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out in 1914. The Congress showed much sympathy for Turkey. Many Congress leaders had helped in the collection of funds for Turkey. It was a Congress Muslim, M.A. Ansari, who led the Medical Red Crescent Mission to Turkey.

The League adopted a resolution stressing the necessity of the Hindus and the Muslims joining hands to work for national progress. The Congress also passed a resolution in its 1913 Session that leaders of the different communities would make "every effort to find a *modus operandi* for joint action on all questions of national interest."

Subsequently, the Congress[1] and the League at their session held at Lucknow in 1916 adopted the Congress League scheme of reforms. The League for the time being gave up its loyalism and put on the nationalist garb. It was too much for Agha Khan and Ameer Ali who left the League with their followers. The League failed to hold the attention of the Indian Muslims because it was not sufficiently anti-British for the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. Mention may be made here that Jinnah was totally opposed to the Congress lending support to the Khilafat Movement and mixing religion with politics. "What happens," he would say, thumping the table, "if the Caliph himself is dethroned, or is made to abdicate? The days of Kings and Emperors are over. In any case, whether the Muslims have one Khalifa or a hundred, it is not the business of the Congress to meddle in a religious matter."

[1]J.N. Sahni, *The Lid Off* and also *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 26 December 1976.

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Chapter 5

Punjab Between Morley-Minto Reforms And Provincial Autonomy 1909-35

The Muslim League failed to hold the attention of the Indian Muslims after 1919 and its affairs were in a moribund condition.

Despite[1] the unanimity of the Congress and the League in regard to constitutional reforms, Montague the Secretary of State for India, who was on a short visit to India for examining the question of further reforms, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy who was collaborating with him, rejected the Congress League scheme as impracticable but adopted the principle of separate communal electorates for the Muslims which formed part of it.

Though the authors of the Montford scheme of reforms regarded the system of separate communal electorates as opposed to the teachings of history, as perpetuating class distinctions, as stereotyping existing relations and in fact, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle, they nevertheless recommended its continuance in view of the assurances given to the Muslims. They went a step further and proposed its extension to the Sikhs in the Punjab. The "communal award" of Mr Macdonald extended its scope still further and gave its doubtful boon to the scheduled classes, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and many other interests and classes.

[1]J.N. Sahni, *The Lid Off*, p. 110.

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In subsequent developments the[1] League intensified the spirit of communalism among the Indian Muslims.

The Khilafat Conference became the centre of political consciousness and activities of the Indian Muslims under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi which led to an unprecedented wave of Hindu-Muslim unity but this state of affairs did not last for long. The atrocities committed by the Moplas of Malabar upon the Hindus led to the outbreak of communal riots in a virulent form. The dissolution of the Khilafat Conference after the dismissal of Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey and the virtual abolution of the Khilafat by the Turks themselves under Mustafa Kamal Pasha changed the position completely. The[2] Muslim League again took the stage on behalf of the Muslims. It was about this time that Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who had left the Congress in 1920, joined the League.

The League found itself divided into two sections over the question of offering cooperation to the Simon Commission. One section led by Sir Mohammad Shafi and Sir Fazle Hussain was for wholehearted cooperation with the Simon Commission, while the other led by Jinnah was opposed to it. The Indian Muslims were also divided into three groups in regard to the attitude adoped towards the *Nehru Report*. One section led by Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan[3] and Mulana Azad was in favour of accepting it, another section led by Sir Mohammad Shafi and Sir Fazle Hussain was opposed to it, while the third section under the leadership of Jinnah proposed several vital amendments to the *Report* which were against its basic principles. The two other groups kept alive the spirit of communalism. During the space of a few years men like Hakim Ajmal Khan, Fazle Hussain, Ansari, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Sir Mohammad Shafi died, leaving the field free for Jinnah. He was called back from England where he had gone with a view to settling down and practising law, to assume the leadership of the League.

It was under his presidentship that the[4] League contested elections to the Provincial Legislatures held in 1937 but with rather disappointing results. The League was trounced by its opponents

[1]J.N. Sahni, *The Lid Off*, pp. 120-21.

[2]*India in 1927-28*, Government of India, Central Publication Branch, p. 61.

[3]See Appendix 3, Foreign Political Department notes 1921 (no. 72 National Archives).

[4]Mohammad Raza Khan, *What Price Freedom*, pp. 136-37.

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in Muslim majority provinces, namely, the Punjab, Bengal, Sind and the N.W.F.P. It was only in the Muslim minority provinces like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar that its candidates were successful against non-League Muslim candidates. Then later on in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the Muslim League candidates were supported by the Congress. In short, in 1937 the fortunes of the League were at a low ebb. But there occurred an event which proved to be momentous. The League expected that it would share power with the Congress where it was in an absolute majority. The negotiations for forming joint Congress-League coalition ministries, however, failed. The failure and the feeling of frustration that followed from it gave an opportunity to the League to rally the Muslims under its banner by making venomous attacks upon Congress leadership which it accused of pursuing purely Hindu interests. The League impressed upon the minds of the Muslims that the Congress was an exclusively Hindu body and the Muslims could never expect justice or fair play from any government dominated by it.

When the[1] Congress ministries resigned in 1939 on the war issue, the League celebrated 22 December as a day of 'deliverance and thanksgiving'. The refusal of the Congress to form coalition 'ministries in 1937, proved to be fateful and disastrous. It sowed the seed which resulted in the demand for Pakistan and the new theory that the Muslims constituted a nation distinct from the Hindus and as such were entitled to a separate homeland of their own. The demand for Pakistan and the two-nation theory[2] on which it was based germinated and developed between 1937 and 1940.

Though the Muslim League was the first communal body, yet it was not the only one of its kind in India. The Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and the untouchables set up many communal organisations of their own in course of time for similar purposes. India became a land of communal organisations. The differences between them were utilised by the British Government for its own porpose.

The Hindu Mahasabha—the chief communal organisation of the Hindus—was set up in 1915 to check the proselytising activities of the Muslims and the Christian missionaries. Secondly, the Hindus suffered much in men and money in communal riots wherever they

[1]Mohammad Raza Khan, *What Price Freedom*, p. 80.

[2]*History of Freedom Movement*, vol. III, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1906-36.

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broke out. It became necessary to organise the Hindus for self-defence. 'Shuddhi' and 'Sangathan' thus became the watchwords[1] of the Mahasabha. The Muslim League was putting forth more and more aggressive demands and they were receiving the support of the British authorities. The Indian National Congress could not take up a strong attitude against such demands. The Hindus were thus driven to organise themselves. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Lala Lajpat Rai[2] supported the Mahasabha. It thrived mainly because of the unreasonable demands of the Muslim League and the policy of appeasement or compromise adopted by the Congress towards them.

The advent of V.D. Savarkar brought a great change in the character of the Mahasabha. It developed a political programme and began to give a lead to the Hindus on political questions. It would thus appear that the Mahasabha became as aggressively communal as the Muslim League but tried to cover it up by using some kind of vague national terminology.[3]

After the retirement of Savarkar, S.P. Mookerjee became its leader. As against the League demand for Pakistan it set up the slogan of "Akhand Hindustan". As a protest against the Congress' acceptance of the scheme of partitioning the country, the Hindu Mahasabha refused to participate in the Independence Day celebrations of 15 August 1947.

There was another Hindu communal organisation known as Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS). It also believed in 'Akhand Hindustan'.

Minority communities like the Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and other depressed classes had their respective organisations. Each of them was anxious to get as large a share in political power under the reformed constitution as possible. The Sikhs demanded weightage in the Punjab and in the centre similar to what was conceded to the Muslims under the Lucknow Pact.

The depressed classes[4] under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar wanted separate electorates. The Muslim demand for a majority in the Punjab and Bengal could not be reconciled with the Sikh demand for weightage in the Punjab.

[1]Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 329.
[2]See Appendix 3.
[3]B.R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or Partition*.
[4]Ibid.

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Thus arose the communal problem which proved a stumbling block during the second session of the Round Table Conference and made a progress in the work of the Federal Structure Committee impossible. It was with the help of the system of communal representation first introduced in 1909, then in 1919 and 1935, that the foreign government tried to balance and counterpoise one community against the other with a view to securing its own stability.

Free and independent India did not stand in need of it. The new constitution abolished its 'root and branch'. Seats were reserved only for the Scheduled Castes.

The Sikhs under the leadership[2] of Master Tara Singh wanted the establishment of a Sikh province. Every type of communalism, it Muslim, Hindu, or Sikh, is undesirable. Communalism is the most dangerous enemy of democracy. From time immemorial India has been a secular state. Intolerance and fanaticism are a denial of Hindu culture and incompatible with Hindu genius.

Non-Cooperation Movement and Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1917

One great obstacle to the development of Indian polity has all along been the communal differences in India. These were inaugurated virtually during the time of Lord Minto and when a scheme of 'self-government' was about to be formulated in 1917. It was fortunate that the adjustments between the two great communities of India were made by voluntary agreement between the two parties. The year 1917 witnessed a quickening of national consciousness throughout India and a widely popular agitation in favour of home rule.

The cry of home rule.[3] spread to the remotest corners of the land and Home Rule Leagues were established all over the country under the leadership of Mrs Annie Besant. Mrs Besant was imprisoned and the Home Rule League became very popular[4].

[1]G.V. Subba Rao, *Partition of India*, 1947.

[2]Indeed the Home Rule League had adopted and popularised the tricolour flag and later on it virtual ly became the Congress flag. Also See Appendix. II.

[4]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I, p. 131.

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India was, however, planning a campaign of passive resistance in order to secure the release of the home rule internees. A joint meeting of the Congress and the League sent a small deputation consisting of Jinnah, C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Sapru and Wazir Hassan to England to meet Sir W. Wedderburn's[1] advice for promoting the scheme of reforms for India. But what irritated the Government of India most was that while Delhi and Simla were sending secret despatches regarding reforms, the Congress and the League members should not have overreached them.

Chamberlain[2], the Secretary of State resigned due to the Mesopotamian muddle and Montagu took over as the Secretary of State. It was[3] in the course of his debate that Montagu criticised the Government of India as "far two wooden, far too iron, far too inelastic, and far too antediluvian to subserve its purposes in modern times."

This was considered a first-class victory for India, for Montagu was believed to be a statesman possessing goodwill, ability, courage and first-hand knowledge. True to public expectations, Montagu on behalf of the Cabinet made the following authoritative announcement on 20 August 1917, regarding responsible government as the goal of British policy; the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development[4] of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

As a practical token of trust in the people, he removed the racial bar which excluded Indians from the King's commissions in the army. Further he announced his intention to proceed to India in order to consult the Viceroy and give a hearing to all the interests concerned in India's advance towards 'self-government'.

Mrs Besant and her associates were released and later on the question of 'passive resistance' was also dropped.

A memorandum was sent to the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford by

[1]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I, p. 132.
[2]Ibid., p. 132.
[3]Ibid., p. 134.
[4]Ibid., p. 135.

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C.Y. Chintamani[1] upon the elevation of their country to a status of equality with the dominions in all inter-imperial matters.

Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had been touring the wholec ountry, receiving deputations and granting interviews everywhere. Indians wanted to support Montagu. The Moderates everywhere repeated the statement and added that Montagu could do nothing if he was disowned by the extremists in India as well as the die-hard in England. Ultimately it failed, as the people on publication of the *Report* made the statement that the reform scheme was "Unworthy[2] of Britain to offer and India to accept."

The Congress League scheme declared that nothing short of 'self-government' within the Empire would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indians. Instead Montagu neither used the phrase, 'self-government' nor 'dominion status', but only the term "responsible government".

Different sections of public opinion reacted differently to Montague's declaration of policy. The Moderates hailed it as a Magna Charta, while the nationalists who had been demanding the establishment of self-government in the near future were not satisfied with the declaration of 'responsible government'.

After ascertaining the views of Indian leaders of different shades of opinion, Montagu in consultation with the Viceroy and the Provincial Government paid a visit to India. He arrived in November 1917[3] and stayed on till the following May. He met top-ranking leaders of the Congress and Muslim League. He has given an account of what he saw and heard in his personal diary which makes highly interesting reading. One immediate effect of his visit was to divert the attention of political leaders from agitational activities and keep them thinking of his mission. In his diary he makes the following entry dated 28 February 1918:

> I have kept India quiet for six months at a critical period of the war, I have set the politicians thinking of nothing but my mission. The Home-Rule movement which had become very active in 1917, became somewhat dull after the arrival of Mr.

[1]President of the Indian National Congress.

[2]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I, p. 135.

[3]War was also going on and in the meantime the Russian Revolution (17 November Revolution) had also broken out.

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Montagu. Leaders got busy speculating about the coming reforms. Mr Montagu utilised[1] the opportunity of "rallying the Moderates and crushing the Extremists."

His report was based on four cardinal points: (i) popular control over local bodies; (ii) partial responsibility or dyarchy in the provinces, (iii) increased opportunities of influencing the Government in the centre but without any responsibility; and (iv) the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State for India. He submitted this report on 8 July 1918.

The principle of separate communal electorates was retained despite the candid admission of its being anti-democratic and anti-national in character. The authors of the *Report* could not abandon it because of its previous commitments to the Muslims. They went a step further that it might be extended to the Sikhs.

The Congress met in a special session in Bombay in August 1918 to discuss the Montford Reforms and adopted the resolution of entirely disagreeing with the formula but never 'rejected' it. The Congress demanded the fundamental rights of the people to be preserved, and in the second case an attempt was made to take the case of India before other nations, especially America, to support India for 'self-government' and to provide democratic institutions for the people living under its government. The rule of self-determination for the future peace of the world as proposed by President Wilson and Lloyd George and other statesmen applied to India also. The Congress also demanded that India should also be represented in the Peace Conference.

Non-Cooperation Movement in the Punjab

The Indian revolutionaries tried to smuggle arms from countries opposed to Great Britain. In order to checkmate their activities the Government of India passed the notorious Defence of India Act which gave it very wide powers of arresting and trying persons suspected to be engaged in criminal and revolutionary activities. It was meant to arrest persons without the help of any jury. Persons

[1]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I, p. 140.

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accused of violating rules were sentenced to transportation for life and even to death.

Thus the Defence of India Act[1] was a sort of 'Lawless Law'. This Act was to lapse with the ending of the war but the Government wanted to retain some of its powers. Therefore, a committee was formed under the chairmanship of Justice Rowlatt of the London High Court to investigate the revolutionary movements effectively. The Rowlatt Committee carried on its work at the same time when Montague was holding discussions in India. The report of the Rowlatt Committee was published just about a week before the publication of the Montford report on constitutional reforms. The Rowlatt Committee recommended special legislation which would have curtailed the liberty of the people in a drastic manner [(*Na vakil*[2], *na appeal*, *na dalil*. i.e. no pleader, no appeal and no argument)].

In the meantime Gandhiji had entered the Indian political field and he also urged the Government to drop the Bill which he condemned as a Black Bill. This Bill[3] seemed to treat the Indians as subjects for administration and not as citizens.

This Bill was passed[4] in the teeth of public opposition, followed by terrible reaction in the country which proved to be the most ruinous for the Montford Reforms. Gandhiji came into the limelight and assumed leadership of the national movement. Gandhiji organised 'passive resistance' or *satyagraha* for disobeying those laws. Non-cooperation was started. The day 6 April 1919 was fixed for *hartals* (strikes) on a countrywide scale. There was complete unity between the Hindus and Muslims and the immediate cause for such unity was the disgust that the Muslims felt at the position of Turkey being unsettled after the war and the danger to the Khilafat, and the Hindus fully sympathised with those feelings.

The scene of India's struggles and sufferings shifted now to the Punjab which ultimately led to the partition of the Punjab.

The *hartal* bad passed off peacefully at Amritsar. Dr Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew were served with a notice, on 9 April, for deportation. The news spread like wildfire and a small crowd marched in

[1]Satyapal and Prabodh Chander, *Sixty Years of Congress*, Lahore, 1946.
[2]Ibid. Also See Appendix 3.
[3]Edward Thompson, *The Reconstruction of India*, p. 121.
[4]Bill was passed on 19 January 1919, ibid.

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a procession towards the residence of the Deputy Commissioner. The crowd was totally unarmed but it was fired upon and people resorted to violence. Some Europeans were killed by them.

On 11 April General Dyer took command of the city and next day people were arrested indiscriminately. A Public meeting was organised at Jallianwala Bagh[1] for 13 April. Soon after the meeting had commenced, General Dyer reached the place with his troops and ordered firing at the crowd without giving it any order or opportunity to disperse. People were caught as in a trap and died in hundreds.

The General was let off by the Government with premature retirement, and honoured by the British people in England and in India in various ways. It was given out that it was an error of judgment. The Government appointed the Hunter Commission for investigating the causes which led to the tragedy. Martial Law was imposed in Amritsar on 15 April. Questions were raised by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya in the Imperial Legislative Council but were disallowed by the Governor-General. This was followed by the National Congress' decision to boycott the Hunter Commission and to appoint a committee of its own to inquire into the disturbances and the Martial Law administration. C.R. Das, Moti Lal Nehru, Abbas Tayabji and Jaykar were its members.

All this disillusioned Gandhiji. He turned a non-cooperator and started his non-cooperation and non-violent movement for seeking redress for the Punjab wrongs and also for the Khilafat issue.

Gandhiji started the non-cooperation[2] movement against the Rowlatt Act which had been placed on the statute book in the teeth of popular opposition but was never enforced. This marked the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into Indian politics and it at once placed him on a par with Tilak and Mrs Annie Besant. The agitation against the Rowlatt Act laid the foundation on which subsequent campaigns of non-cooperation and civil disobedience were based. Gandhiji was sentenced to six years' imprisonment by Broomfield for having preached sedition through articles in his weekly, *Young India*. Therein he explained why he was forced to turn against the Government.

The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all freedom. Then followed the Punjab

[1]See Appendix 3.
[2]Satyapal and Prabodh Chander, *Sixty Years of Congress*, p. 60.

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horrors beginning, with the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and culminating in the failure of the British Prime Minister to honour his word given to the Indian Muslims. Gandhiji was elected the President of the Khilafat Movement.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose[1] expressed his views in following words:

> There can be little doubt that if the Government of Lord Chelmsford had, in 1920, taken drastic action against the authors of the Punjab atrocities, the confirmed 'Co-operator', Mr Gandhi, would not have been forced to the path of non-cooperation, nor would the Indian National Congress have set aside the resolution adopted at the Amritsar Session in December 1920.

The Jallianwala tragedy[2] brought about a change not only in Gandhiji but also in that of many others towards the Government of India. For example, Rabindra Nath Tagore reacted sharply. He renounced his Knighthood, and Sir Sankaran Nair resigned from the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The deputation led by Gandhiji which met the Viceroy contained many Hindus including Swami Shraddhananda, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. The Viceroy's reply was discouraging. In the meantime Gandhiji had issued a manifesto in which he outlined the course of action to be adopted by the Khilafat Conference. This manifesto contains the first elaborate statement of Gandhiji's doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation, which became a prominent feature of India's struggle for independence.

The immediate effect of the advocacy of Khilafat Movement was the intense wave of Hindu-Muslim unity which also proved to be short-lived.

Non-cooperation movement was in favour[3] of surrender of titles, boycott of foreign goods and boycott of legislative councils. This was a signal for men like Jinnah, Bipin Chander Pal and Mrs Annie Besant to leave the Congress. This loss was compensated by the onrush of a large number of Muslims headed by the Ali brothers and a large number of ulemas[4]. But this had one undesirable result for

[1]Subhash Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 39.
[2]See Appendix 3.
[3]Ibid., p. 40. See Appendix 3.
[4]Religious body of the Muslims.

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Gandhiji. He lost contact with the slowly emerging group of English educated Muslims who proved to be a tower of strength to the Muslim League when it came to be rejuvenated under the leadership of Jinnah towards the late thirties.

At first the Government's attitude was not very serious. But the boycott demonstration organised by the Congress Session at Nagpur in 1920 against the Duke of Connaught, who had come to inaugurate the Montford Reforms, annoyed it much. The Ali brothers were sentenced each to two years' imprisonment. Later on the Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII) was to pay a visit to India and land in Bombay on 17 November 1921. Since it was considered that the purpose of his visit was to rally public support in favour of the Government, the Congress issued instructions for boycotting his visit. The people were to show their resentment by observing complete *hartal* on the day he was to land in Bombay. It was a complete success.[1]

The political situation in the country was none too favourable for creating an atmosphere for according a reception to the Prince of Wales. Lord Reading was inclined for favourable settlement with the Congress. He offered to release all the volunteers, provided the Congress agreed to call off the civil disobedience movement immediately so that the Prince's visit would not be boycotted by the people. The Government also assured the Congress leaders that a round table conference would be summoned to settle the future constitution[2] of India.

There were clashes between the Royalists and the non-cooperators all over the country. Even the Anglo-Indian papers like the *Statesman* and *the Englishman*, wrote the next day that Calcutta volunteers had taken possession of the city and the Government had abdicated; they demanded immediate and drastic action against the Congress volunteers. The Congress organisation was declared illegal and it was followed by similar notifications in other parts of the country. This signified[3] a radical change in the policy of the Government. It decided to suppress by force the movement for the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales. All this was most welcome to the Congress. In Calcutta, Deshbandhu C.R. Das accepted the challenge—and he himself, his wife and his son were arrested.

[1]Subhash Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 68.
[2]Ibid., p. 67.
[3]Ibid., p. 68.

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Their arrest set the whole province ablaze. Thousands of young men and women came forward to defy the Government ban on volunteers. The struggle between the Government and the Congress was at its peak. Das and other leaders were arrested in Calcutta. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and others were arrested in Uttar Pradesh, and Lala Lajpat Rai and others in the Punjab.

The political situation outside India was none too favourable from the point of view of Great Britain. The entire Muslim world seemed to be combining against Britain and this was bound to have an effect on the Indian Muslims. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to suppose that the Government of Lord Reading was most anxious to create a favourable atmosphere for the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta. A peace-maker was found in Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. If the Congress was to boycott the civil-disobedience movement immediately, the Government would simultaneously withdraw the notification declaring the Congress volunteers illegal and release all persons arrested under it. Deshbandhu C.R. Das was in favour of a settlement with the Government. The release of the Ali brothers was a ticklish problem, since they were not convicted under the non-cooperation movement of the Congress volunteers. Gandhiji insisted upon the immediate release of the Ali brothers. Das sent his friends who were outside the jail to Sabarmati to lure Gandhiji round. It was too late when Gandhiji's consent came. Tired of waiting, the Government of India changed its mind. The failure of the negotiations had no effect on the movement which continued in full swing. All the prominent leaders except Gandhiji were in jail. It was in this atmosphere that the Congress Session was held in December at Ahmedabad. In place of the President elect, Deshbandhu C.R. Das, who was undergoing six months' term in jail, Hakim Ajmal Khan[1] took the chair and read out the incomplete address written by Das. Gandhiji was made the 'Sole authority of the Congress'.

On 1 February 1922, Gandhiji sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy that he would start mass civil disobedience if within seven days of the receipt of his letter, the Viceroy did not release all the prisoners convicted for non-violent activities. The campaign was to be started by the people of Bardoli by refusing to pay the taxes. Mahatma

[1]See Appendix 3.

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Gandhi's ultimatum threw the whole country into great excitement. In the words of Subhash Chandra Bose, the people began to count the hours as they sped by with bated breath. But Destiny had willed otherwise. An incident occurred in the tiny village of Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. There was picketing by some volunteers for banning the sale of foreign goods and of liquor. Police opened fire and many people in retaliation set fire to the post office.

When the news reached Mahatma Gandhi[1], he immediately decided to suspend the movement throughout the country. Gandhiji asked his countrymen to concentrate on the constructive programme of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, removal of untouchability, promotion of communal unity and temperance.

Gandhiji was arrested. The suspension of the movement meant its collapse. Popular resentment was all the greater because Gandhiji did not consult the representatives from the different provinces. To sound the order of retreat first when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity. Lala Lajpat Rai was feeling the same way, and he wrote a seventy-page letter to Gandhiji from prison, saying it was wrong to punish[2] the whole country for the mischief of some villagers. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his book[89] that he was much upset by it.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the issue of *Young India*, dated 16 February 1922 as follows: "He realised, as Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal did not seem to realise, that the non-cooperation moment was losing its non-violent character. At the appropriate moment he applied the brake and cried a halt."

Like the preceding Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Act, the non-cooperation Movement of 1920-21 was also called off on account of the eruption of violence before it could reach its normal conclusion. Neither was Swaraj attained, nor were the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs redressed.

Never before had the country ressounded so enthusiastically to cries of 'Hindu-Mussalman-Ki-Jai'. Never before had a leader emerged of Gandhiji's incomparable equality.[4]

[1]Subhash Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 70.
[2]Ibid., p. 74. Also see Appendix 3.
[3]*Nehru on Gandhiji*, pp. 38-39.
[4]Hirendernath Mukerjee, *India's Struggle for Freedom*, p. 129.

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The Movement dealt a fatal blow to the prestige of the Government and made the people politically wide-awake and fearless.

But the Hindu-Muslim unity was short-lived. There was the Moplas Rebellion. The Moplas constituted a band of fanatic Muslims residing on the Malabar Coast. They murderd their Hindu brethren and put a heavy strain on Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Communal riots that followed the suspension of the non-cooperation movement and the disintegration of the Khilafat Movement gave a further setback to unity.

The Civil Disobedience Movement

The abrupt withdrawal of the Movement by Gandhiji, and his subsequent arrest and conviction for six years, produced a great depression among the people. The Government continued its policy of reprseionseverely. The AICC appointed a small committee to tour the country and report on the situation. The committee headed by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and V. J. Patel recommended that Congressmen should enter the legislatures in order to wreck the Reforms from within. The other three members —C. Rajagopalachari, M. A. Ansari and K. Aiyangar—held the opposite view.

In the depression and gloom[1] that followed the arrest of Gandhiji, the Muslim League which had played second fiddle to the Khilafat Conference and toed the Congress line came out of its hiding, asserted itself and began to take a somewhat independent line of action. It assumed its old role as a communal organisation and formulated the political demands of the Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha also raised its head and launched the movements of 'Shuddhi' and 'Sangathan'. The Muslims retaliated by starting 'Tabliq' and 'Tanzeem'. The communal situation thus steadily went from bad to worse. Hindu-Muslim unity, which was an important feature of the non-cooperation movement, suffered a serious setback. Developments in Turkey bewildered the Indian Muslims. The leader of the new Turkey, Mustafa Kamal Pasha, abolished the Sultanate, established a republican regime in the country, and replaced the Khalifa. The Indian Muslims who had taken part in the non-cooperation movement left politics and swelled the ranks of the

[1]Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India.*

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communalists—thus observed Jawaharlal.[1]

On release from jail, Deshbandhu Das argued that participation in the election campaign would give the Congress an opportunity to carry on propaganda all over the country. The move was opposed by orthodox followers of Gandhiji who came to be known as 'non-changers'. The question came up at the Gaya Session of the Congress which was presided over by Deshbandhu C.R. Das himself. He resigned from the presidentship of the Congress and organised a separate group under the name of Swaraj Party. The party was formed on 1 January 1923. In this move he was greatly helped by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. The two leaders worked hard and its first session was held at Allahabad in March 1923. The political aim of the party was the attainment of dominion status.

Some mediators tried to bring about a sort of compromise between the Swarajists and the non-changers and a special session was held in Delhi in September 1923. Maulana Azad was elected the President of the special session. On entering the Legislative Assembly, the party would demand the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution and it would resort to the policy of "Uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to making Government through the Assembly and Councils impossible."

R.C. Majumdar[2] sums up the Swaraj Party when he says that it was for the first time that the Assembly wore the appearance of a truly national assembly were national grievances and national aims and aspirations were expressed without any reservation.

Dr Zacharias[3] says that the Swarajists were in the position of people who wanted to keep their cake and eat it at the same time.

The decline of the Swaraj Party came partly due to the untimely death of C.R. Das in June 1925 and secondly due to the communal tensions in the country. Thirdly, the Government also contributed to its decline by arresting and detaining without trial a large number of its influential workers and leaders in Bengal. One of the persons thus arrested and detained was Subhash Chandra Bose.[4]

Many prominent persons after the death of Deshbandhu C.R. Das, left the party. Lala Lajpat Rai in close association with Pandit

[1]Jawaharlal Nehuru, *The Discovery of India*
[2]R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. I, p. 234-43.
[3]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, p. 240.
[4]Subhash Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 137.

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Madan Mohan Malaviya founded the Nationalist Party. The atrocities committed by the Moplas on the Hindus had its repercussions at Multan, Kohat, Agra, Saharanpur and elsewhere and put a heavy strain on Hindu-Muslim unity. Mahatmaji decided to do penance for this crime against humanity and God by going on a twenty-one-day fast. The fast was commenced at the house of Maulana Muhammad Ali in Delhi on 17 September 1924. The news caused great concern all over the country and more than two hundred leaders of all communities were invited to attend the Unity Conference which began in Delhi on 26 September 1924, under the presidentship of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. It devised a formula for promoting communal unity but the practical result was nil. Communal relations worsened further between 1925-26. Very serious riots broke out in Calcutta, Rawalpindi, Allahabad, Delhi and elsewhere. Swami Shraddhananda who once addressed a Jama Masjid gathering also during the unity-move days, was fatally stabbed by a fanatic Muslim in December 1926.

It was in the midst of communal bitterness that general elections were held in 1926. The Swarajists suffered heavy losses. The Nationalist Party headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Lala Lajpat Rai joined hands with the Hindu Mahasabha.

The Muslim League demanded self-government but insisted on adequate representation for the Muslims. Hindu Mahasabha on its side aimed at organising the Hindus for self-defence against rowdy elements in communal riots. Its tone and spirit were quite anti-Muslim.

The Simon Commission

The communal riots and the bitterness[1], the resurgence of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and the differences between the orthodox non-changers, and Swarajists, brought about a great slump in the political life of the country. Unity of action against the British, and Hindu-Muslim unity had almost vanished. The political horizon in the country seemed at its darkest. The Government of India felt happy and sure of its position. Fortunately for the Indian struggle for freedom, the Government of India committed a great blunder which provided a splendid opportunity to the

[1]R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 308-9.

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politicians for a country-wide agitation. This was the appointment of the Simon Commission.

In November 1927, Governor-General Lord Irwin announced the appointment of the Indians Statutory Commission of the Government of India Act 1919. It provided for the review of the political situation in India every ten years.

The Tory Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, did not like to run a risk by leaving its appointment to the successor Government which was likely to be Labour. He wanted to dispose of the Indian question while the Conservatives were in power. But the announcement appointing the Commission in advance by four years (it was due in 1931) to suit their interests was greeted with strong disapproval by all the political parties in the country. They were all united in opposition to the Commission and decided to boycott it. The appointment of the Commission was thus a God-sent boon to India.

All the political parties including the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and others demanded the appointment of a round table conference at which the representatives of the Indian people and those of the British Government could meet and frame a constitution for the country. The appointment of the Simon Commission did not meet that demand. It was expressed[1] by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the following words, "I do not think a worse challenge has been thrown out ever before to Indian Nationalism."

All the[2] political parties spoke with one voice. Jinnah, Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, Moti Lal Nehru presented an unbroken front to the Commission.

The Congress suggested mass demonstration all over the country against the Commission on the day of their landing in Bombay, and social boycott of the members of the Commission. The Commission consisted of seven members with Sir John Simon as its Chairman.

The boycott of the Simon Commission was a great success. Wherever the Commission went, it was greeted with black flag demonstrations and cries of "Simon, go back". Government resorted to repression through the police. At Lahore the police attacked

[1]R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 309-10.
[2]B.R Nanda, op. cit., pp. 18-31.

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a peaceful procession which was headed by Lala Lajpat Rai.[1] A British police officer aimed his lathi blow at the chest of Lalaji, causing him serious injury and ultimately proving fatal. This was a great insult to Indian nationhood; the revolutionaries tried to avenge it by the murder of a police official whom they mistook to be the person who dealt the fatal lathi blow at the chest of Lalaji. At Lucknow, leaders like Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested. All sections of Indian opinion were unanimous in their firm decision to have nothing to do with the unwanted Simon Commission.

In spite of the hostile reception given to the Commission it did its work thoroughly. It visited India twice and submitted its report in two years time, in May 1930.

Immense pains had been taken to avoid the assumption of a dominating racial attitude[2]. Its[3] great demerit was that it failed to take note of the radical change that had been brought about by the non-violent, non-cooperation movement.

While recommending the abolition of dyarchy and handing over of all the provincial subjects to popular ministers, the Commission proposed a number of safeguards. Along with provincial autonomy they recommended the grant of special powers to the Governor which might enable him to over-ride the advice of the popular ministry for specific purposes. The Governor was to preside over the meetings of the Cabinet. The Commission[4] recommended unanimously that communal representation for the Muhammadans of the province must be continued. Their first[5] reason was that the British Government had given pledges to the Muslims which could not be set aside. Minto-Morley in 1909 and Montagu-Chelmsford in 1919 had incorporated these pledges in Acts of Parliament and the Statutory Commission could not depart from such solemn commitments.[6]

Another reason given was that the Congress had approved it in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. It was a temporary lapse on the part of

[1]See Appendix 3.
[2]Andrews, *India and the Simon Commission*, p. 39.
[3]Ibid., p. 40.
[4]The Report of the Indian Constitutional Reforms, p. 111.
[5]Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. 2, para 69, p. 56.
[6]Ibid., p. 69.

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the Congress which is proved by the fact that from 1909 till 1916 and afterwards in the Nehru Report (1927-28) separate communal electorates were condemned surely and steadily. The 'divide-and-rule' policy of the British was leading the country towards embittered relations between the two major communities of India, ultimately leading to Partition.

The charge against the British is not that they created the differences, but that they made political capital out of the differences in order to promote their Imperial interests. A somewhat spacious argument was also advanced, namely that the differences between the Hindu and Muslim religions were so much wider than the differences between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants of European countries.

The differences[1] between the Catholics and Protestants did not prevent the terrible massacres and bloodshed which characterized history of England, France and Netherlands, Germany and Bohemia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet in the tiny state of Ulster (Ireland) in the years 1970-72, the Roman Catholics and Protestants were shedding each other's blood, under the eyes of the British army. The disparity between the Shias and the Sunnis is less than that of the Catholics and the Protestants but the torrents of blood that the two have shed through the centuries have eclipsed Islamic history.

All this discussion[2] of religious, linguistic and cultural differences assumes importance only in relation to the politics in which the Government of a country is involved. The Commission further suggested that after the publication of the Report, a Conference should be arranged between the representatives of His Majesty's Government and those of British India and the Indian states.

Such were the recommendations of the Simon Commission. To say nothing of dominion status, it did not propose even partial responsibility at the centre. Provincial autonomy which it recommended was limited by the special powers of the Governor and the control of the Central Government. The Indian army was to be put under the control of His Majesty's Government though its expenses were to be borne by the Indian tax-payer.

[1]Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. IV, p. 79.
[2]Ibid.,

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The Nehru Report

The appointment of the all-white Simon Commission[1] had another and happy repercussion on Indian politics. In the course of his speech on the Statutory Commission, Lord Birkenhead, while trying to justify the exclusion of Indians from it, had challenged Indians to produce an agreed constitution and submit it to the Parliament for consideration. He threw this challenge with the conviction that Indians could never agree among themselves. But Indians accepted the challenge and organised an All Parties Conference which held its first sitting in February 1928, even while the Commission was touring the country. The All Parties Conference held twenty-five sittings in three months and after doing its spade work, appointed in May a subcommittee presided over by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru to draft a constitution. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, M.S. Aney, Sardar Mangal Singh, Shuib Qureshi, G.R. Pradhan and Subhash Chandra Bose were its members. The committee produced a memorable report which has gone down in history as the Nehru Report. Zakaria describes it as a masterly and statesman-like report. It considered the main constitutional problems facing the country with great acumen and insight and laid down the general principles on which they were to be decided.

While the majority favoured dominion status[2] a minority pressed for complete national independence. The Report adopted a compromise. It accepted dominion status not merely as a distant goal, but as the 'next immediate step'.

The Report envisaged a future linking up of the Indian states with the rest of India in a federal polity, but to begin with the Nehru Report confined itself to British India. It, however, stated that the new responsible Government of India should exercise the same rights and discharge the same obligations towards the Indian states till the formation of the Federation, as the then Government of British India did. For British India it recommended full responsible Government on the lines of the self-governing dominions.

The executive power was vested in the King, but was to be exercised by the Governor-General as his representative. The Governor-General was to act on the advice of his popular ministers as the

[1]Andrews, *India and the Simon Commission*, p. 39.
[2]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, pp. 251-52.

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constitutional head of the State. The Cabinet was responsible to the legislature which was to be bicameral. The lower chamber of the Central Legislature consisting of five hundred members was to be constituted on the basis of adult suffrage and direct election.

The different provinces were to be represented on it on population basis. The upper chamber consisting of two hundred members was to be elected by provincial legislative councils by proportional representation. The Indian army was to be placed under the control of an Indian minister responsible to the legislature and the legislature was given the right to discuss and vote on the army budget.

The Report also laid down a scheme of distribution of powers between the Centre and the provinces. In regard to the vexed question of communal representation, the Report made several wise recommendations. It proposed joint electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats. No seats were to be reserved for any community in the Punjab and Bengal.

The Report also enumerated nineteen fundamental rights which were to be embodied in the constitution. One of them was the equality of men and women so far as their rights were concerned. "The Nehru Report[1] deserves to be read and studied in all its details, as it sheds light on every subject it touches and displays a practical common sense which never loses itself in doctrinnaire Utopias, but which equally spurns to shelter itself behind the enunciation of mere platitudes." Some of its important recommendations found their way into the Constitution of the Indian Republic. It was no easy matter to secure agreed conclusions in a Committee whose members held divergent views on important issues.

When the Report came to be[2] considered by the All Parties Conference at Lucknow in August 1928, one section composed of Nationalist Muslims like Dr Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Azad favoured its acceptance in its entirety. Another section led by Sir Mohammad Shafi was for its rejection and cooperation with the Simon Commission, while the third led by Jinnah pressed for vital amendments which destroyed its organic character. The Muslim Conference claimed on behalf of the Indian Muslims

[1]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, pp. 251-52.
[2]B.R. Nanda, *Moti Lal Nehru*, pp. 201-2.

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separate electorates, weightage and due share in the central and provincial cabinets. Following the Muslims, the Sikhs also made extreme communal demands which were strongly opposed by the Hindu Mahasabha.

All the difficulties which were created for opposing the Nehru Report came from the communal bodies, but the younger section in the Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose opposed it on the ground that it was based on the concept of dominion status. Nothing less than complete independence was acceptable to these impatient idealists. The Nehru Report was thus attacked by communal reactionaries on the one hand and by young radicals within the Congress on the other.

Moti Lal Nehru consulted Mahatma Gandhi and he suggested a via-media. Congress should adopt the whole of Nehru Report including the dominion status formula, but if it was not accepted by the Government within two years, the Congress should opt for complete independence and fight for it, if necessary by invoking the weapon of civil disobedience.

This marked the re-entry of Mahatma Gandhi into active political life of the country and also the probable revival of the non-violent, non-cooperation movement, which had been suspended in 1922.

Alongside these developments[1] in India there occurred in Great Britain an important event which had a profound effect on the development of the political situation in the country. This was the formation of a minority Labour Government with Ramsay Macdonald as the Prime Minister and Wedgewood Benn as the Secretary of State for India.

Wedgewood Benn lost no time in calling Lord Irwin the Governor-General of India, to London to discuss Indian affairs. He remained there from June to October, and on his return issued a proclamation on 31 October, which may be regarded as the response of the British Government accepting the Calcutta Congress resolution giving one year's time to the Government to accept the Nehru Report. It also proposed to hold a round table conference in London soon after the publication of the Simon Report, at which both the representatives of His Majesty's Government and the Indian delegates would sit to discuss the Simon Report and the other Indian problems.

[1]B.R. Nanda, *Moti Lal Nehru*, pp. 201-2.

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One thing was[1] crystal-clear: this was the fact that both Wedgewood Benn and Lord Irwin approached the Indian problem with a genuine desire for justice.

Within twenty-four hours of the Viceroy's announcement, the leading politicians of India assembled at Delhi. After close examination, the manifesto was signed by Mahatma Gandhi, Moti Lal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr Ansari, Pandit Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Rt. Hon. Srinivas Shastri. The Conference expressed its appreciation of the sincerity underlying the declaration to placate Indian opinion. The signatories also suggested the release of political prisoners to ensure the success of the proposed Conference.

In spite of the changed outlook of the Labour Government in relation to India, there was no response from the Government to the Indian leaders' statement. Some well-meaning friends suggested to Lord Irwin that he make a gesture before the Lahore Congress Session so that the leaders did not go to the Session empty-handed.

A meeting between the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi, and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was arranged. Lord Irwin could not assure the Indian leaders that the round table conference was being convened to frame the Indian constitution on the dominion status basis, because of the determined opposition of Churchill, Lord Birkenhead, Lord Reading and other Tories to the terms of the Viceroy's proclamation of 31 October 1929. Stanley Baldwin and Lloyd George also disowned the declaration.

Churchill described the idea of dominion status for India as a crime.

Mahatma Gandhi realised that the country was drifting towards violent revolution, and that the only way to divert violence was to start civil disobedience. He, therefore, moved a resolution at the Lahore Session (1929) declaring complete independence for India.

The Civil Disobedience Movement 1930-34

The Lahore Session of the Congress (1929) declared complete independence for India as its goal. Everything was left to the All India Congress Committee. This virtually meant putting Gandhiji incharge of the whole thing.

[1]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, pp. 253-54.

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Gandhiji very correctly[1] sensed the atmosphere in the country; he saw that the youth were getting restless and would not listen to speeches, resolutions, or conferences. They believed in direct action. In April 1929, Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt threw two bombs in the Central Legislative Assembly. A bomb factory was unearthed by the police in Lahore and the Lahore Conspiracy case was started in which Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, Sukhdeva and others were involved. Jatin Das went on a hunger-strike as a protest against the inhuman treatment meted out to the under-trial prisoners in the Lahore Conspiracy case and died as a martyr after sixty-three days' fast. Gandhiji was convinced that nothing but the civil disobedience movement could save the country from impending lawlessness and secret crime.

He, therefore, began preparation for civil disobedience, and as a first step in the process all Congress members in various legislatures in the country were called upon to resign their seats. The second step in the process was the observance of 26 January as the Independence Day all over the country. On that day every citizen of India took an oath for attaining 'Purna-Swaraj'.

Gandhiji announced his intention to start civil disobedience by violating the obnoxious Salt Law, starting from the Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on the seashore on 12 March 1930. His picking up salt at that place was to be a signal for others to start civil disobedience all over the country.

This two hundred-mile long march on foot to the seashore enabled Gandhiji to rouse the entire countryside through which he passed and also gave him time to work up the feelings of the country as a whole. Side by side Satyagrahi soldiers were carrying on intense propaganda, asking the people to give up their government jobs, and to prepare for the non-payment of taxes; they appealed to women to take up the work of picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops. Women not only added to the number of civil resisters, thousands of them suffered imprisonment.

The Government tried to suppress the movement by banning processions, meetings, demonstrations, and making arrests. Arrest of leaders, workers and volunteers became the order of the day. Heavy fines were imposed upon many of them and confiscation of

[1]Quoted by S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar in *Non-violent, Non-cooperation*, p. 245.

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their property failed to stem the rising tide of the movement. The police[1] began to make free use of the lathi. Each province had its own tale of woe to tell as a result of the ruthless repression on the part of the Government. But[2] the most diabolical incident took place at Peshawar where several hundred people were shot dead.

During the civil disobedience movement, remarkable powers of organisation, initiative and resourcefulness were revealed by the people.

When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru[3] was arrested, he named Moti Lal Nehru to be his successor. Moti Lal Nehru in turn named Sardar Patel and so on. Government made it impossible for the Press to give publicity to Congress activities. A new institution known as 'Prabhat Pheries' also came into existence. Two distinguished[4] leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar made an attempt to bring about some sort of understanding between the Congress and the Government in the hope of restoring narmalcy in the country. The Viceroy readily agreed and gave them permission to contact Gandhiji who was in jail at Poona. But the negotiations failed.

When the civil disobedience movement was at its peak, the Simon Commission Report was published. It was out of date even when it was published. As Zacharias puts it.[5] "It betrayed a monstrous lack of understanding, only equalled by a similar lack of sympathy."

After the failure of the attempts made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar to find a via-media between the position of the Congress and that of the Government, Pandit Moti Lal fell seriously ill in the Naini Jail. He was suddenly released from prison on 8 September and breathed his last in February 1931.

The Round Table Conference

A proclamation was issued on 31 October 1929 by Lord Irwin, to hold a Round Table Conference in London soon after the publication of the Simon Report, at which representatives of His Majesty's Government would meet Indian delegates with the purpose of seeking the greatest measure of agreement for the final proposals which would

[1]Subhash Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 257-58.
[2]Ibid., pp. 259-61.
[3]Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, pp. 379-80.
[4]Ibid., p. 360.
[5]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, p. 269.

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be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament.

It was in accordance with the proclamation that the Round Table Conference was convened in London soon after the publication of the Simon Report on 7 June 1930. The Round Table Conference met under the chairmanship of the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, and was inaugurated by His Majesty, the King Emperor, on 12 November 1930 and it lasted till 19 January 1931. Out of the eighty-nine persons[1] who participated in its deliberations, sixteen represented the three major political parties in the British Parliament, sixteen represented the Indian states, and fifty-seven British India. The British Indian delegation included representatives of all interests except the Congress.

The Congress stayed away because the Viceroy could give no assurance for dominion status.

"Contrary to general expectation," writes V.P. Menon, "the first Round Table Conference achieved outstanding results, the most important being the unanimous agreement of all parties including the rulers on the issue of federation."

The Maharaja of Bikaner and the Nawab of Bhopal on behalf of the rulers, and Sir Muhammad Shafi for one wing of the Muslim League and Jinnah for the other, also welcomed the proposals.

The British Prime Minister made the following declaration about the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to the future of India at the concluding session of the Round Table Conference:

> The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures, Central and Provincial. The subjects of Defence, External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General and to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects.

The main achievement of the First Round Table Conference was that the idea of an All-India Federation was highly appreciated, especially by the Indian states. It also provided the reconstitution of provincial governments on the basis of full responsibility. The Round Table Conference[2] proposals constituted a great advance on the Act of 1919 as well as on the recommendations of the Simon Commission.

[1]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, p. 269.
[2]Ibid., pp. 270-72.

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GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

Lord Irwin lifted the ban on the Congress Working Committee and also released unconditionally Mahatma Gandhi, in order to give them full freedom to discuss the Prime Minister's statement. A meeting between Lord Irwin and Gandhiji was arranged which resulted in settlement after lengthy negotiations. The pact was signed on 5 March 1931.

On behalf of the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi agreed to suspend the civil disobedience movement. On behalf of the Government the Viceroy agreed to release all political prisoners sent to jail in connection with the civil disobedience movement. But the Irwin-Gandhi Pact could not secure the release of political prisoners convicted for violent activities. In spite of his best efforts Gandhiji could not secure the commutation of the death sentence on Sardar Bhagat Singh and his two comrades to transportation for life. The pact was to be ratified by the Congress Session held at Karachi under the presidentship of Sardar Patel. One week before the Congress was to meet Bhagat Singh and his two comrades were executed. This was a great strain on the Pact but Gandhiji carried everything before him and the Pact was ratified.

Had Lord Irwin stayed for another year as Viceroy, the two countries would have united in a common friendship to the advantage of both. In India, Lord Irwin was succeeded by Lord Willingdon and Wedgewood Benn by Sir Samuel Hoare as Secretary of State for India. In India the Government officials did not observe the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact; it was alleged that they honoured the Pact more in the breach than in the observance. Gandhiji got a long list of alleged breaches of the Pact and a long drawn-out correspondence between Mahatmaji and the Government ensued. Mahatma Gandhi informed the latter that under the circumstances he could not proceed to England to participate in the Round Table Conference. There was[1] an interview between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Willingdon at Simla at which an understanding was arrived at, and Mahatma Gandhi agreed to sail for London as the sole representative of the Congress.

[1]Victor Trench, *Lord Willington in India*, p. 185.

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THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE (7 SEPTEMBER 1931)

Mahatma Gandhi sailed for England but arrived there late by five days. The Conference started on 7 September 1931. When Mahatma Gandhi arrived, due to a financial crisis, the Labour Government had resigned and Ramsay Macdonald had formed a new Tory Government. It was the civil disobedience movement which led the British Government to concede partial responsibility at the Centre. The spirit which pervaded the first session was absent from the second. Under Mr Wedgewood Benn[1] the Conference in 1930 had been a real joint deliberation of peers; under Sir Samuel Hoare in 1931 it was a tiresome legacy of a pompous debating society that was being liquidated.

The Conference called for an amicable settlement of the Indian constitutional problem.

Things were, however, manoeuvred in such a way that the communal problem was side-tracked and, in order to discredit Indian demands, a minor problem was pushed into the limelight. The composition of the Indian delegation was such that it made the solution of the communal problem almost impossible. It contained persons who lived and thrived on communal differences

Wire-pulling by politicians in Britain[2] who were anxious to perpetuate British power in India by the policy of divide-and-rule also made any reasonable solution of the problem impossible. The Muslims wanted absolute majority in the Punjab and Bengal, the retention of excessive weightage in the provinces (where they were in a minority) granted to them under the Lucknow Pact, and one-third representation in the Centre. The Sikhs wanted weightage in the Punjab similiar to that granted to the Muslims in Assam, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and Madras. The Depressed Classes following suit, claimed separate representation for themselves. An atmosphere in which each community made excessive claims for itself and was unmindful of national interests was hardly conducive to the settlement of such a thorny question. The Muslim members refused to participate in the discussions till their demands were fulfilled. The Muslims joined in an unholy alliance with reactionary

[1]Zacharias, *Renascent India*, p. 281.

[2]S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar, *Non-violent, Non-cooperation*, p. 245.

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British interests and the result was the notorious Minorities Act, which failed to solve the communal problem. This[1] was the origin of the infamous 'Communal Award' which contained the British Government's solution of this vexed question, a solution which was most unfair to some and most favourable to other communities.

With rapid strides the communal giant was making headway towards the Partition of the country. No one thought in terms of independence, or the solution of any of the vital and urgent economic problems facing the Indian people. . . .

The British Government was not at all anxious for a settlement of the Indian problem. Mahatma Gandhi was pained by the unbusiness-like character of the proceedings of the conference and described it as a 'long, slow agony'.

The second Session[2] of the Round Table Conference whose sole outcome was the widening of the cleavage between the Congress and the Minorities, especially the League, concluded on 1 December 1931.

What Mahatmaji saw and sensed in England, made him feel that the British Government and the Congress had come to a parting of the ways.

The Indian bureaucracy did not at all like the way in which Lord Irwin had concluded an agreement with Mahatma Gandhi on terms of equality. They thought that it had added to the prestige of the Congress and it was time that it was brought down. Both,[3] Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Willingdon had decided "not to wait, until the struggle had proved itself either violent or non-violent, but were resolved to prevent any struggle from developing."

Gandhiji landed at Bombay on the 28 December 1931. An ugly situation in India faced him. During the period he was away in London the Government of India had resorted to highly repressive measures in Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and N.W.F.P. In the Frontier Province an ordinance was issued declaring the Red Shirt Volunteers an illegal body, and their leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his brother (Khan Sahib) were both arrested.

On top of all this Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested. Mahatmaji addressed a telegram to the Viceroy and the response of the Government came in the form of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and

[1] S. Sardul Singh Caveesher, *Non-violent, Non-cooperation*, p. 245.
[2] Jawaharlal Nehru, *Autobiography*, pp. 293-94.
[3] Zacharias, *Renascent India*, p. 284.

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the members of the Working Committee and the sweeping arrests of Congress leaders all over the country, before they could get time to start civil disobedience.

Within[1] a week almost everybody in the Congress was in prison.

The Government of India dragged Gandhiji and the country into the fight. This was the main and vital difference between the non-cooperation movement of 1920-21 and the civil disobedience movement of 1930 on the one hand and the struggle of 1932 on the other. In the first two cases the initiative was with the Congress, while the Government was on the defensive.

The Government declared the Congress as an illegal body. Heavy[2] fines were imposed on helpers and sympathisers of the Congress. India lived[3] practically under martial law, the Congress never really got back the initiative or any freedom of action.

There was no dearth of civil resisters, the response of the country to the challenge of the Government was remarkable.

In spite of the efforts of the Government to prevent the holding of the annual session of the Congress, the citizens of Delhi were able to hold it near the Clock Tower.

The struggle[4] continued, but in a greatly toned-down form. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President-elect, was arrested.

Mahatmaji's Fast, the Poona Pact and After

While the struggle was going on in the country, the British Prime Minister announced his decision on the communal problem on 17 August 1932. Among other objectionable features, it proposed the creation of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. Gandhiji wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare that if the Government proposed to tear away the Depressed Classes from the main body of the Hindus by creating separate electorates for them, he would resist the attempt with his life. The authorities in England did that chiefly to reduce the Hindu majority and place the Hindus almost on a parity with the Muslims.

The divide-and-rule policy is clearly visible here. Gandhiji began his fast in the Yervada jail on 20 September 1932. After prolonged

[1]Subhash Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 334.
[2]Jawaharlal Nehru, *Autobiography*, p. 328.
[3]Ibid.
[4]Satya Pal and Prabodh Chandra, *Sixty Years of Congress*, p. 312.

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parleys between the Indian National Congress and the Depressed Classes, a meeting was held and an agreement was reached in Poona known as the Poona Pact. The Depressed Classes were given 148 seats instead of 71, but through joint electorate. The British Government also modified the award. Gandhiji broke his fast on 26 September 1932. After successful termination of his fast, Gandhiji began to direct the campaign against untouchability from behind the prison bars.

Delegates[1] from the forthcoming Congress Session to be held in Calcutta were treated in a brutal, wanton and inhuman way.

While still in Yervada Jail, Gandhiji announced his intention to go on a three weeks' fast and on the same day he was released from jail with a view to create an atmosphere favourable for negotiations. He advised the Acting Congress President to suspend the movement for six weeks in order to seek an interview with the Viceroy, who advised Gandhiji for the complete surrender of the Congress. Thus Gandhiji was compelled to inaugurate the campaign of individual civil disobedience. Before he could start that movement he was arrested and sentenced for one year. Jawaharlal was again arrested. Individual civil disobedience continued up to March 1934. Gandhiji's condition deteriorated in jail and he was released unconditionally.

On the 15 January 1934, there was a terrible earthquake in Bihar. Gandhiji went there and had the opportunity to discuss the situation in the country with the leaders there.

Even the individual civil disobedience did not succeed due to the most cruel and barbarous methods adopted by the government for striking terror in the hearts of the people and demoralising them by all means. Secondly Gandhiji[1] had chosen a side-issue like revoking separate electorates for the Depressed Classes; he was ready for the final sacrifice.

Revolutionary activities continued even during the individual civil disobedience movement. There was a daring dacoity at Kakori (the well-known Kakori Conspiracy case) and four persons were sentenced to death, chief among them being Ram Prasad Bismal. Their chief aim was to rouse the political consciousness of the people and awaken the nation from its slumber.

[1]Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, pp. 400-1.
[1]*The Indian Annual Register*, 1932, vol. II, p. 246.

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Provincial Autonomy, British Policy, Congress Response, Muslim Attitude and Attitude of Others

After the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement by Gandhiji and the lifting of the ban on the Congress by the Government, the problem before the people was what to do next. The people thought that under the conditions prevailing in the country the best thing to do was to revert to the programme of council entry which had been adopted in 1923 and abandoned in 1929.

In May 1934, the AICC met at Patna under the presidentship of Madan Mohan Malaviya. Dr M.A. Ansari and Dr B.C. Roy and Mr Malaviya formed a board to select candidates for the elections to the Central Assembly. During this period Mahatma Gandhi left the Congress. The decision was something like a bomb-shell. Congressmen were not ready for it. Despite[1] his resignation, Gandhiji belonged to the Congress and the Congress belonged to him. He re-entered the Congress in 1939 to guide the individual civil disobedience movement against the war and finally led the country into the Quit India Movement of 1942.

The election to the Legislative Assembly was held (under the Government of India Act, 1919) in November 1934, shortly after the Congress Session was over. The Congress decided to contest every general seat and achieved great success. The Congress which the Government of Lord Willingdon had hoped to crush once for all by the use of brute force came out successful in the contest and continued the work of constitution-making. It set up a consultative committee for keeping itself in touch with the heads of political parties other than the Congress and for considering the reports of the franchise, federal, finance and Indian states enquiry committees.

In England, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, did not favour the idea of holding any more sessions of the Round Table Conference, and wanted to revert to the Simon Commission plan of inviting Indians to put their case before a Committee of Parliament which was to decide the future constitution of India.

An announcement was therefore, made on 27 June 1932, to the effect that the Third Session of the Round Table Conference was abandoned.

[1]Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, pp. 408-9.

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The Indian Liberals felt annoyed at this, and as a protest against the decision their leaders resigned membership of the Consultative Committee which had been set up by the Government of India. This had some effect on the Government. The Viceroy[1] announced before the Assembly that a small body of representative Indians from British India and the Indian states would be invited to London. In other words, the British Government reluctantly agreed to convene the Third Round Table Conference which was held from 17 November to 24 December 1932. Only forty-six delegates attended it. The Third[2] Round Table Conference was just a piece of window-dressing. Jinnah was left out and the Indian states abstained from it. They were represented by their ministers and officers. The Labour Party refused to join.

The last meeting[3] was marked by two speeches of importance. Sapru appealed to the Government to remember that the constitution they proposed to draft should be acceptable to the people of India.

After the Session was over, the British Government published their proposals in a White Paper issued in March 1933, giving a complete outline of the constitution. The[4] paper embodied a scheme of the Federal Government of India at the Centre which would come into operation after certain conditions were fulfilled, e.g. a number of states had acceded to the Federation. But in the House of Commons, Mr Attlee read out a statement on behalf of the Labour Party recognising "the right of the[5] people of India to full self-government and self-determination." The Labour amendment drawing attention to the omission of the phrase 'dominion status' from the Paper was voted down. But the extremists of the Conservative Party, the most redoubtable amongst whom was Winston Churchill, condemned the scheme of the White Paper in the severest terms.

The net result of the long process which began with the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1928 and ended with the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committees (JPC) which continued for eighteen months, was the introduction of a Bill in Parliament which became the Government of India Act of 1935.

[1]Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, pp. 410-11.
[2]*The Indian Annual Register*, 1932, vol. II, p. 246.
[3]Ibid., p. 409.
[4]Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. IV.
[5]*The Indian Annual Register*, 1932, vol. II, p. 409.

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The Government[1] of India Act 1935 marks a great advance on the Act of 1919. It proposed to establish a Federal Government at the Centre in which the executive was to be responsible to the legislature, consisting of elected representatives of the people in British India and the nominees of such states as joined the Federation. Defence, foreign relations, ecclesiastical affairs and tribal areas were to be administered by the Governor-General. It established full responsibility in the provinces, which were made autonomous units. The Governor-General and the provincial governors were given vast powers to veto anything if they so desired. The Congress was justified in strongly condemning and rejecting this Act.

Despite the highly disappointing nature of the Act, the Congress decided to contest the elections to the provincial legislatures. Its president, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, made a whirlwind tour of the country and carried the message of the Congress to every nook and corner. The results of the election were highly significant; they demonstrated several things. The Congress swept the polls; it captured 715 out of 836 general seats. It obtained absolute majorities in the Hindu majority provinces, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras. Due to the hold of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his Red Shirt volunteers in the N.W.F.P., it did very well there and emerged as the largest single party. The Muslim League did not achieve any notable success in the elections. It could win only 51 seats in the whole of British India.

Since the Congress had rejected the provincial autonomy (under the Act of 1935), there was no question of working in a spirit of cooperation with the British Government. But the Muslim League sought to utilise the opportunity for what it was worth.

The Congress accepted office on 7 July 1937 from the interim ministers. In September 1938, a Congress-led combination took office in Assam. It was considered desirable to associate as many parties as possible in the work of administration. In short,[2] it was felt that the Congress would be stronger if it stood alone. The decision to exclude non-Congressmen from the Cabinets meant the refusal to form coalition cabinets. It had disastrous consequences. It caused serious[3] disappointment to aspirants for ministerships in

[1]Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, pp. 408-9.
[2]Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 313.
[3]Ibid., pp. 315-16.

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the Muslim League circles. M.A. Jinnah[1] who had at one time been an ardent Congressman, an enthusiastic advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and a great believer in the theory of Indians constituting one nation, began to say that the Muslims could never expect justice or fairplay under a Congress Government.

He advised the Muslims to devote their time, energies and attention exclusively to the all-important task of self-organisation and the full development of their powers. Under his leadership the Muslim League drifted further and further away from the Congress. The communal problem became highly accentuated. Communal[2] tension during the following years and the demand for Pakistan may thus be regarded as the outcome of the exclusion of Muslim Leaguers from the cabinets that Congress formed in many provinces in 1937. It would not be wrong to say that the roots of Pakistan were cemented in 1937.

[1]Mohammad Raza Khan, *What Price Freedom*, p. 84.
[2]Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 313.

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Chapter 6

Punjab Till Partition

Provincial Autonomy

Soon after the decision of the Congress to accept office the interim ministries resigned in all the provinces where the Congress Party was in a majority in the Legislative Assembly. The Congress took office in six provinces in July 1937. A Congress ministry was also installed in the N.W.F.P. a few months later. The first[1] thing the Congress did after assuming office was to get the following resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly. "This Assembly[2] is of the opinion that the Government of India Act, 1935, in no way represents the will of the nation and is wholly unsatisfactory as it has been designed to perpetuate the subjugation of the people of India. The Assembly demands that this should be repealed by a Constitution for a free India, framed by a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise."

The Congress governments released political prisoners, refunded the securities taken from newspapers and cancelled black lists of newspapers and political suspects. There was legislation on zamindari or proprietorship in land, of liquidating agricultural indebtedness and undertaking a vast programme of education, both for children and adults. The bans imposed on political organisations were also lifted.

During[3] the twenty-eight months the Congress remained in office

[1]Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 313.
[2]Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 221.
[3]Ram Gopal, *How India Struggled for Freedom*, p. 414.

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in the provinces, there was fairly smooth working between its ministries and the provincial governors.

But there was no manifestation of new life and spirit in the non-Congress-governed provinces. The state[1] of affairs was no better in both Bengal and in the Punjab where non-Congress ministries were functioning. In Bengal Fazul-ul-Haq, leader of the Praja Party was the Chief Minister and in the Punjab there was the Unionist Ministry under Sir Sikander Hayat Khan.

The most[2] troublesome law and order problem was the occurrence of communal riots. The unfortunate result of assumption of office by the Congress, was the worsening of relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities. The Muslim League started a tearing and raging propaganda against the Congress ministries which penetrated into the villages, thus arousing the passion of the Muslim masses. The inevitable[3] consequence was the outbreak of turmoil and violence in many places. Whenever Holi and Muharram synchronised, or some other festival like Dussehra or Diwali and Id fell on the same dates, peace was disturbed. Uttar Pradesh and Bihar were the worst sufferers but there were riots in Madras and Bombay also. But on the whole Congress rule was a success. Even Sir Samuel Hoare spoke of "The great constitutional success of Provincial Autonomy in India." In Parliament, Lord Linlithgow looked with satisfaction "on a distinguished record of public achievement during the last two and a half years."[4]

It was successful on account of the play of international forces.

World War II and the Constitutional Deadlock

World War II broke out in September 1939. It had a tremendous impact on the political situation and national movement of our country. Its immediate effect was the resignation of the Congress ministries in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Bombay, Madras and Assam and the N.W.F.P. In all these provinces, Governor's rule was imposed.

While the Congress was settling down to work and was engaged in improving the conditions of the masses, war clouds were

[1]Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 313.
[2]R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem*, part II, p. 96.
[3]Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. III.
[4]H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*, p. 70.

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deepening in Europe. It was becoming more and more evident that war was inevitable.

The[1] incorporation of Austria into the German Reich was followed soon after by demands on Sudetenland.

War seemed[2] almost inevitable when Chamberlain made his dramatic trip to Munich. There was an understanding between Germany and Britain, and a part of Czechoslovakia came under German occupation without war. For the moment it seemed as if War had been averted, but the Munich Pact[3] did not help the cause of peace. Hitler invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, and two days later England and France declared war on Germany.

Within a few hours of declaration of war against Germany by Britain, the Governor-General of India declared India's belligerence on the side of the Allies without consulting the provincial governments or the representatives of the people in the country's legislatures. Indian troops were moved out to Egypt, Aden and Singapore without debate or without vote.

"A white hand[4] had moved these Indian soldiers like pawns across the chessboard of world politics in a quarrel not their own."

As a protest against the arbitrary and high-handed manner in which the Imperial Government had treated India, Congress

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 20.

[2]Ibid., p. 21.

[3]Between 21 September and 1 October 1938, another opportunity from France, Britain and the USSR to join and oppose Hitler was lost. The famous Munich Pact from which the Soviet Union was excluded, was entered into on 30 September and made drastic concession to Germany in the Sudeten issue. Next in 1938, he poured troops into Austria and incorporated it in the Nazi Empire. Then he demanded that Czechoslovakia should be ceded to the Reich and that he would take it by force if peaceful means failed. War seemed imminent. Neville Chamberlain the British Prime Minister flew back and forth between England and Germany begging Hitler not to precipitate a crisis. British re-armament had only begun and France torn by economic troubles was not in a position to fight. So the agreement which took place at Munich in 1938 was inevitably a capitulation to Hitler. By it Hitler was allowed to annex Sudetenland to Germany and the integrity of the remnant of Czechoslovakia was guaranteed by four powers. England, France, Germany and Italy. This guarantee was of little value for only six months after the Munich Pact, Hitler occupied Prague and the rest of Czechoslovakia. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XXIII p. 733.

[4]Brailsfor, *Subject India*, p. 45.

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ministers were also asked to tender their resignations. This brought to an abrupt end the association of the Congress with the work of administration.

The Congress[1] passed a resolution in March 1938, that it was opposed to Imperialism and Fascism alike and was convinced that world peace and progress required the ending of both.

The Viceroy promulgated the Defence of India Ordinance which seriously curtailed civic liberties. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha and made it plain that mere promises for the future would not satisfy them unless something was done in the immediate present as an earnest that the British Government meant to honour its pledge. Among other things, it said that the people of India had, in the recent past, faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic state in India, and their sympathy was entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. The Committee offered to help Britain in her war against the Axis power (Germany, Italy and Japan) on the condition that the British Government should promise full democracy to India and establish national government at the Centre.[2]

The Indian Viceroy invited more than fifty leaders of different political parties for discussion and sounding public opinion in the country. Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Azad were among those invited.

At the end of the interviews the Viceroy issued a statement on 17 October 1939, that in regard to the Indian demand for freedom he reaffirmed what Lord Irwin had said several years ago, namely that the establishment of dominion status was the goal of British policy in India.

As for the immediate action demanded by the Congress, the Viceroy proposed the establishment of an Advisory Council, representing all India, for the purpose of the prosecution of the war.

On 22 October 1939, the Congress Working Committee decided that it could not give any support to Great Britain and, therefore, the Congress called upon its ministries to tender their resignations.

The Muslim League's[3] attitude towards the war gave rise to

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 21.
[2]Majumdar, R.C., *History of Freedom Movement in India*, vol. III, p. 597.
[3]V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, p. 152.

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complications. Its Working Committee met and expressed its views in a resolution after the Congress had spoken its mind.

The resolution promised full support to the Government in its war efforts, provided full justice and fair play were done to the Muslims in the Congress governed provinces and no constitutional advance would be made without the consent and approval of the Muslim League. In other words, the League offered full support to the Government in their war efforts and the League demanded that it should be given the right of 'veto' on Indian constitutional advance. Its outlook was not national, it was communal.

The resignations of the Congress ministries were regretted in certain circles. Its effects were unfortunate in several respects. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the police felt free to revert to old habits', secondly, it brought about a great change in the attitude of the Governor-General.

It greatly[1] reduced the bargaining power of the Congress, while greatly strengthening the position of the Muslim League. The Viceroy began to lean more and more on it for support. For all practical purposes Jinnah was given a veto on further constitutional progress and he made the fullest use of it to consolidate the League's position. The League was very happy over the resignations of the Congress ministries and celebrated 'deliverance day' on 22 December 1939. The growth in the power and influence of the League began after the resignations of the Congress ministries. But for the resignation of the Congress, Jinnah and the League would never have attained the position they did.[2]

Early in 1940, the Viceroy made a speech in the course of which he emphasised the necessity for the inclusion of the states in any future constitutional scheme and laid stress on the claims of the Muslims and the Scheduled classes; and on the other hand he appealed to the leaders of all political parties to unite together and reach some agreement and thus help to end the deadlock. Under such a situation differences between the government and the Congress could not be bridged. The deadlock was thus complete.

The Congress at[3] the Ramgarh Session was driven to resort to civil disobedience and decided that it was the only course left to it.

[1] V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, p. 152.
[2] Ibid., p. 153.
[3] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1939, vol. I, pp. 437-38.

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The Indian states[1] became autocratic while the rest of India was craving for democracy. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru condemned the princes as close allies of British Imperialism. The Congress watched with deep concern the development taking place all over the country in small as well as large states.

About this time[2] the new Jinnah revealed himself. The three main strands of his attitude were: (i) acceptance of the Congress aim of full independence for India; (ii) assertion that the Muslim League was the only political organ of the Muslim Community; and (iii) denial of the claim of the Congress to represent the Indian people irrespective of race, creed or culture and adoption of the British theory that the Congress was a Hindu body. He further said, "When this great country gets self-Government, are we to be under the rule of the Hindus?"

Meanwhile, the war situation in Europe greatly deteriorated. Germany brought under its control Norway, over-ran Denmark, Holland and Belgium. France also capitulated and made separate peace with Germany. England stood in great and immediate peril. The Congress Working Committee met at Poona, and passed a resolution on 7 July 1940 offering help to the British Government, provided it recognised India's right of complete independence after the War.

The reply of the Government of India to this was contained in a statement issued by the Viceroy on 8 August 1940. It is known as the August Offer. "The August Offer promised to set up a constitution-making body after the War." The August Offer promised the establishment of dominion status as soon as possible after the determination of hostilities in Europe and conceded the demand of the Indians to frame their own constitution. But one significant proviso was made, that the minorities like the Muslims were to be given a veto power over any constitution which the Congress might frame and this resulted in the growing hostility of the Muslim League to the Congress which found expression in the observance of the 'deliverance day' when the Congress ministries resigned in November 1939, and in its demand for Pakistan. On 3 April 1940,[3] during the second stage of the war, Lord Zetland repeated

[1]Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, vol. III p. 261.
[2]M.H. Sayid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, pp. 519-20.
[3]Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India.

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in a broadcast, "I am convinced that no lasting settlement in India will prove possible without real reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus." On 8 May 1940 Lord L.S. Amery took over from Zetland and stated on 23 May 1940, "The attainment[1] by India of full and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth is the goal of our policy." But the Hindus and Muslims refused to oblige him and unite. In their private correspondence, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy frankly recognised the insoluble character of the problem and welcomed its intractability. It gave them a valid excuse to postpone transfer of power. Churchill's declaration that the Atlantic Charter[2] did not apply to India and that he had not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, left no room for doubt on this issue.

Jinnah was riding a high horse. He rejected the August Offer for throwing down the demand of the League for the right to veto Congress entry in the Executive Council of the Viceroy.

At its Lahore Session in March 1940, the League propagated the theory that the Muslims were not a minority community in India, but a separate nation and demanded a homeland or state of their own.

The demand for Pakistan was thus made. At its Annual Session held at Ramgarh in March 1940, under the presidentship of Maulana Azad, the Congress adopted a resolution permitting resort to civil disobedience but later adopted a toned-down resolution at Poona.

The Viceroy declared that he would enlarge his Executive Council by the inclusion of a number of Indian representatives in it and also establishing a War Advisory Council containing representatives of Indian states. It was for the first time the Viceroy spoke about free and equal partnership of India in the British Commonwealth.

The League strengthened its position further by inducing the chief ministers of the Punjab and Bengal to accept the membership and authority and by seeing that its members occupied ministerial

[1]*The Indian Annual Register*, 1940, vol. I, p. 72.

[2]Atlantic Charter is the name given to a joint declaration drawn up at a series of meetings on board the warship in the North Atlantic on 14 August 1941, by Franklin Roosevelt, then President of the United States and Winston Churchill conceived after the model of Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points and the two leaders based their hopes on a better future for mankind after World War II.

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positions in some provinces where the Congress had resigned. The Congress started mass civil disobedience and all the prominent Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were sent to jail. The leading members of the Liberal Federation and the Hindu Mahasabha met in a conference to find a way out of the impasse. The President of the Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said, "That never before in the history of the country, there had been a Government more isolated from public opinion and from the main current of political thought in the country than the present Government." Quite possibly, the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru went home. The Viceroy expanded his Executive Council in July 1941 by adding five more Indians to it. The additional Indian members were chosen from outside the ranks of the Congress and the League. It was but natural for the Congress to stay away. The Muslim League did not agree to be represented in the Executive Council of the Viceroy because its demand for Pakistan which was formulated in 1940 at the Lahore Session had not been accepted by the Government. But the League did not obstruct the war effort; the Muslim chief ministers of Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Sind cooperated whole-heartedly with the British Government in their war efforts.

The expanded Executive Council consisted of thirteen members—five British and eight Indians. The departments—Defence, Home and Finance—however remained in the hands of the British. There was, however, one significant development. For reasons which remain unknown, in December 1941 the Government released the Congressmen arrested during the civil disobedience movement. Mahatma Gandhi, however, did not suspend individual civil disobedience. C. Rajagopalachari favoured the suspension of the movement as a political strategy. Soon after there were developments in the War situation which changed the position fundamentally. Japan entered the War with an attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941. By the end of February 1942, the fall of Burma looked imminent and an invasion of India highly probable. The failure of the Government to stop the Japanese advance in Singapore, Malaya and Burma convinced Indians that they must not depend upon the Government for the defence of the country. The Congress, therefore, suspended the civil disobedience movement and advised all Congressmen to remain at their posts and render all help to the people.

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THE CRIPPS MISSION AND AFTER

The refusal of the Indian National Congress to support the War efforts in spite of its opposition to Fascism, Nazism and Japanese militarism, and its moral protest against the refusal of the British Government to set up in India a national government, were not without some effect on public opinion in England, the USA and elsewhere. There were references to the Indian problem in the British Parliament, several members urged the Government to treat it as urgent and mobilise the full resources of India by offering her dominion status and inviting an Indian representative to sit in the War Cabinet in England.

Marshall and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek[1] who paid a visit to India in February 1942, urged the Government of India in their farewell message to win India's full support in the struggle against Japan. President Roosevelt also exerted some pressure on Winston Churchill to ease the Indian situation. He said that the Atlantic Charter was applicable to the whole world. Even Dr Evolt, the foreign minister of Australia, urged self-government for India with a view to securing her full support in the war effort. The weight of all these appeals was reinforced by the spectacular success of Japan in South-East Asia, by the fall of Singapore and the serious threat to Burma. There was great danger of invasion of India. All these factors made the British Government realise the necessity of solving the deadlock in India and mobilising all her resources to meet the menace of the Japanese invasion.

Accordingly, Churchill[2] made an announcement in Parliament on 11 March 1942, that the War Cabinet had decided to send a member of the Cabinet to visit India with the proposals of His Majesty's Government for the solution of the Indian problem. Sir Stafford Cripps was sent for negotiating a settlement with the Congress. He had returned from Moscow after his successful mission in Russia. He had already visited India twice and was a personal friend of Jawaharlal Nehru. For years he had championed self-government for India. Therefore, his appointment was welcomed in India.

Much earlier Cripps had told Hodson[3] in Delhi, "You must

[1]Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India* vol., III, pp 336-37.
[2]Ibid., p. 342.
[3]H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*, p. 103.

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realise that the Cabinet has quite made up its mind that India shall have everything in the way of *de facto* dominion status and complete Indianisation of the Executive Council except for defence."

Lord Linlithgow did not believe from the beginning in the success of the Cripps Mission. Churchill and Amery agreed with Linlithgow's views and had full confidence in his judgment. Attlee and Cripps held the opposite view. Attlee[1] had no trust in Linlithgow and had condemned his views in the strongest terms. Amery wrote to Linlithgow explaining why the choice fell on Cripps and not on the Secretary of State. as would normally have been expected. He stated, "there is much to be said for sending someone[2] who has always been an extreme Left Winger and in close touch with Nehru and the Congress."

Cripps in his earlier visit to India in December 1939 had formed his opinion and after his talks with Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had inclined towards the idea that some separation of Hindu and Muslim[3] dominions could be necessary.

Besides, he had been impressed with the problems of the untouchables and of the Indian states, which appeared to place obstacles in the way of political advance.

The Cripps proposal of 23 March 1941, desired[4] to create a new Indian Union as a dominion. As soon as the War ended, a new constitution was to be framed by a body consisting of elected representatives of British India and nominees of the Indian states. Until the new constitution of the Indian Union came into being the British Government was to be responsible for the defence of India with the help of an Indian Government composed of members of all parties and with the full cooperation of the Indian people. These proposals were rejected by the Congress because they did not comply with the immediate establishment of a fully independent national Government, and by the Muslim League because they did not meet its wishes for an independent Muslim State.

At this stage, a new factor entered in these negotiations. Col. Louis Johnson, the special representative of the President of America, arrived in India with a watching brief. Cripps took

[1]H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide*, p. 103.
[2]Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. III, p. 343.
[3]Colin Cooke, op. cit., pp. 255-56.
[4]*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XII, p. 157.

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advantage of his presence in Delhi and asked him in his personal capacity to help him in disentangling the defence problem.

He suggested that an Indian should be appointed in-charge of Defence, but he would delegate powers to the Commander-in-Chief as the war member of the Executive Council. The new formula was shown to Nehru but the Viceroy had not seen it in its final form and protested that he was ignored. He refused to accept any responsibility for it. Churchill then warned Cripps not to commit the Government in any way.

Thus, the hope of establishing immediately a national government could not be fulfilled. But the Cripps Mission's proposals conceded to the Muslim League the substance of its demand for Pakistan. For the Indian states the Cripps Mission proposed that the states would be free to join or not join the proposed Union. It may thus be said that Cripps spoke with many voices.

Cripps wrote a letter to the Congress President, Maulana Azad in which he accused the Congress of the desire to dominate the minorities. The sense of frustration grew rapidly in India.

A number of prominent Congressmen were sent to Jail. The AICC met towards the end of 1941 at Allahabad and expressed its resentment at the way the government was tackling the Indian problem.

At this Congress meeting, Shri C. Rajagopalachari proposed that the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan be accepted in order to establish a united front which the British would be unable to resist.

The failure[1] of the Cripps Mission, the success of the Japanese forces in South-East Asia and the imminent threat of the Japanese invasion of India wrought a great change in the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi. He, therefore, became intent upon devising some plan by which the situation could be saved. The notion of Quit India slowly developed in his mind and ultimately found expression in the glorious revolution of 1942.

The Quit India Movement

The abrupt closure of negotiations by Cripps shocked the Congress leaders by misrepresenting their views on defence and national government. Jawaharlal Nehru, his best Indian friend, was so

[1]Hiren Mukerjee, *Indian Struggle for Freedom*, p. 233.

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disappointed that he confessed, "It is sad beyond measure that a man like Cripps should allow himself[1] to become the devil's advocate."

At this time there was a fundamental change in the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi towards the war efforts of the Government of India after the failure of the Cripps Mission which coincided with the Japanese victories. The supreme consideration of Gandhiji was how to save India from Japanese aggression. He was absolutely sure that India must never seek Japanese help in driving out the British, for if the Japanese freed India from the British yoke, it would only be to put it under their own yoke instead.

Gandhiji was no less worried by the never ending stream of soldiers from America. In the same issue of the *Harijan* he wrote as follows:

> Cannot a limitless number of soldiers be trained out of India's millions. Then why foreigners?" It amounts in the end to American influence, if not American rule added to the British. I see no Indian freedom peeping through all this preparation for the so-called defence of the country.

The ease with which the triumphant Japanese armies had driven the British out of Singapore, Malaya and Rangoon and established their naval supremacy over the Bay of Bengal, left no room in the mind of Mahatma Gandhi about the incapability of the British to defend India. Gandhiji gave expression of these ideas in the *Harijan*, dated 26 April 1942, in the following words:

> If the British left India to her[2] fate as they had to leave Singapore, non-violent India would not loose anything. How much more creditable, how much braver it would be for Britain to offer battle in the West and leave the East to adjust her own position. Whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too, lay in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India.

This was a highly significant change in the attitude of Mahatma

[1] *National Herald*, 30 July 1942 cited by Coupland and also *The Constitutional Problem in India*, part II, p. 288.

[2] A.K. Majumdar, *Advent of Independence*, p. 186.

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Gandhi. When the War broke out Gandhiji gave his moral sympathy to Great Britain and her Allies but was not ready to participate in the war effort. After the failure of the Cripps Mission his moral sympathy for the Allies abated. But in 1942 he went to the length of declaring that a free India would throw all her vast resources into the War and cooperate fully with the Government.

He suspended the non-cooperation movement in 1922 (Chauri-Chaura incident) because of the eruption of violence. But in 1942 he took the risk of violence breaking out.

In 1942, Gandhiji was prepared to launch the Quit India Movement even without Hindu-Muslim unity. He had realised that communal unity was impossible of achievement so long as the third party was there with its policy of divide-and-rule. He was confident that communal unity would be realised after Independence had been won.

Gandhiji felt convinced that submission to the ways of Government was sure to lead to a complete demoralisation of the people and their losing all the strength they had gathered during the preceding twenty-two years. He was, therefore, prepared for direct action on the part of the people, even if it had an adverse effect on the prosecution of the war effort.

The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha on 6 July 1942 and adopted a resolution embodying the ideas of Gandhiji on the Quit India Movement.

The Congress Working Committee accordingly passed a resolution on 14 July 1942, known as the Quit India Resolution.

Since Gandhiji thought that the Government might see reason in the position adopted by the Congress, it was decided to send Mira Ben, the English disciple of Gandhiji, to meet the Viceroy and explain to him the purpose of the resolution adopted by the Committee. The Viceroy refused to meet Mira Ben because she represented a person who was thinking in terms of rebellion against His Majesty's Government. This made Gandhiji realise that the Government would not yield. The AICC met on 7 August 1942 and passed the resolution of Quit India Movement by a huge majority.

The AICC, therefore, repeated with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. Gandhiji spoke twice and said that he would give a *mantra*—"We shall do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt."

Gandhiji wished and was ready for a settlement of the problem

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by negotiations. But the Government was determined to nip the trouble in the bud.

The AICC Session concluded at 10 A.M. on 8 August 1942 at Bombay. By 5 A.M. on 9 August 1942, Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other members of the Congress Working Committee and a large number of AICC members were arrested in Bombay. Mahadeva Desai and Gandhiji's English disciple Mira Ben were also arrested. They were taken to Poona and were detained in the Agha Khan Palace under the Defence of India Act. Later they were kept in the Ahmednagar Fort.

The Provincial Congress Committees were declared unlawful. The Congress Headquarters at Allahabad were sealed, the Congress funds confiscated. The Press was muzzled. More than thirty papers stopped publication. The masses[1] did not know what to do, the leaders had given them no directions as to the manner in which the movement was to be conducted. The natural methods of demonstration e.g. processions, meetings and *hartals* were denied to them. The suppressed emotions of the people found vent in an orgy of violence.

The result of subversive activities was that railway and telegraph services were seriously dislocated in many parts of the country. Telephone and telegraph wires were damaged, and police stations and Government buildings were burnt.

Educational institutions and universities were closed down from Dacca to Delhi (excepting Aligarh), and from Lahore to Madras.

The Indian Communists[2] were the only group who sided with the Government and attempted to sabotage the national movement. They also supported the League demand for Pakistan. The Muslim League naturally did not join the struggle.

The Government of India which had displayed the most shocking inefficiency in fighting Fascism abroad or providing civil defence and economic well-being at home, and had made plans to evacuate Bengal and Assam in case the Japanese invaded the country, showed great efficiency in meeting the challenge of the people. As a result of the severity of the measures adopted by the Government to quell the rebellion, the leaderless and unorganised mob had to face police and military firing on 538 occasions.

[1]A.K. Majumdar, *Advent of Independence*, p. 186.

[2]R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. III, pp. 651-52.

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The Government resorted to the worst type of vengeance on the people and dubbed the Congress a pro-Axis body. Gandhiji commenced fast on 19 February 1943, for twenty-one days. The Government was so certain of the inability of Gandhiji to survive the ordeal that they brought sandalwood for his cremation. Gandhiji was seventy-four years of age at that time. But Lord Linlithgow and Churchill were adamant in not releasing him from jail unless he withdrew the Quit India resolution and showed repentance for his conduct.

As a result of the callousness of the Government and its refusal to release Gandhiji, three Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Homi Modi, M.S. Aney and N.R. Sarkar, resigned their office. Even this had no effect on the Government. The Viceroy had refused permission to William Phillips, the personal representative of the American President, to meet Gandhiji in jail.

Despite his old age and great physical weakness, and despite the fact that many a time the physicians who attended upon him regarded the passing away of Gandhiji as only a question of hours, he came out of the crisis and completed his twenty-one-day fast successfully.

The Muslim League[1] kept aloof from the Quit India Movement and adopted an attitude of strict neutrality. It could not support the movement because it did not want it to succeed. To have allowed it to succeed would have helped the Congress to force the British Government to yield to its demand for independence without any prior settlement of the Pakistan issue. That would have put the Pakistan issue under the mat forever. The League did not oppose the movement, for active opposition would have meant widespread communal rioting and violence. It was in July that Jinnah and Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman arrived at the decision to neither support nor oppose the movement. Immediately after the arrest of the Congress leaders on 9 August 1942 Jinnah issued a statement "Deeply regretting that the Congress had declared war on the Government, regardless of interests other than its own and appealing to the Muslims to keep completely aloof from the movement." According to him, the Congress aimed at establishing Hindu Raj in the country. With the Congress out of the way, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha became more vocal. The Hindu

[1]Hiren Mukerjee, *Indian Struggle for Freedom*, p. 247.

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Mahasabha headed by S.P. Mookerjee tried to make a final effort for an Indo-British settlement on honourable terms, but this had no result.

Gandhiji fell seriously ill in April 1944, and the new Viceroy, Lord Wavell, released him in May 1944. Moreover, the political situation had changed considerably. The war had taken a turn in favour of the Allies, both in Europe and the Far East and the forces of the Axis were reeling back.

It is possible that the success of Subhash Chandra Bose, in organising the Indian National Army in Malaya and the invasion of India by this army in April 1944, might have had something to do with Gandhiji's release.

Subhash Chandra Bose had escaped from detention in his home in Bengal in January 1941 and after spending some time in Afghanistan, Italy and Germany, had arrived in Japan. There he organised, with the help of the Japanese Government, the Indian National Army to fight the British and free the motherland from British domination.

After his release, Gandhiji[1] continued his efforts to secure a settlement with the Government and thereby resolve the deadlock in the country. Instead, the Governor-General insisted, like his predecessor, on the withdrawal of Quit India Movement. He could take no steps as all the Congress Working Committee members were detained in Ahmednagar Fort. The AICC rejected the proposal of Shri C. Rajagopalachari for arriving at an understanding with Jinnah on the basis of the League's demand for Pakistan.

Accordingly, he alone was to negotiate with Jinnah. After the War, if the majority decided in favour of a sovereign State separate from Hindustan, such a decision should be given effect to. Lord Wavell was accordingly called to London. He left India on 21 March and returned on 4 June 1945. On 14 June he made a broadcast in which he proposed to hold a conference at Simla on 25 June to which twenty-one leaders of the country were to be invited.

Besides Gandhiji and Jinnah, the recognised leaders of the two main political parties, a representative[2] each of the Sikh and the Scheduled Castes were to be invited. In order to enable the members of the Congress Working Committee of the Congress to

[1]V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, p. 180.
[2]Ibid., p. 182, Simla Conference.

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participate in the discussion the Viceroy ordered their release. After the release of the Congress leaders, they accepted the Viceroy's invitation to participate in the Simla Conference.

The Conference was convened for the purpose of solving the deadlock and advancing the country towards self-government by reconstituting the Viceroy's Executive Council and making it more representative of organised political opinion in the country. The Executive Council was to be made entirely Indian in its composition except for the presence of the Governor-General who was to be its President, and the Commander-in-Chief who was to hold charge of the war portfolio. The Department of External Affairs was to be placed under an Indian member. The Viceroy's power of over-riding it could not be given up but Lord Wavell gave an assurance that this power would not be used unreasonably. Even the Secretary of State was to interfere only in the interests of India and not in those of Great Britain.

Lord Wavell added that the Executive Council was to include equal proportions of caste Hindus and Muslims.

Lord Wavell made a statement that the war was still on and that Japan was a formidable enemy. In such a situation the British Government was prepared to take any far-reaching steps. Such developments must wait till the end of the War, but he felt that the foundations for far-reaching changes could now be laid.

With the Congress[1] represented by Maulana Azad, after his interview with the Viceroy in Simla, the Viceroy said that whatever then political opinions and differences with the Government, the Congress leaders were gentlemen. This remark of the Viceroy spread all over Simla and created a stir in both official and non-official circles.

The Conference opened at Simla on 25 June 1945, under the presidentship of Lord Wavell, to discuss the proposals of His Majesty's Government which were designed to resolve the political deadlock in the country and advance it towards the goal of full self-government.

An agreement on certain main principles, like the representation of minorities, whole-hearted support for the war effort and the continuance of reconstituted Executive Council till the end of the War, was reached.

Differences, however, arose about the composition of the Executive Council. Jinnah demanded that the Congress nominate all the

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 107.

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Hindu members, but that all the Muslim members be nominees of the League. Maulana Azad pointed out that the Congress could never accept such a position. To accept it would be to admit that the Congress was a Hindu organisation and thus deny its national character and national stand. Azad insisted that the Congress should have the freedom to nominate any Indian it liked regardless of whether he was a Hindu, a Muslim, a Sikh, a Parsee or a Christian. The Congress could participate in the Conference only on the basis of its being acknowledged as the national organisation.

The Viceroy did not regard the stand of Jinnah as reasonable. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan,[1] the Premier of Punjab, also took exception to the claim of Jinnah that all the Muslim members of the Executive Council should be the nominees of the League. The Conference adjourned for a fortnight to enable members to discuss the issue of the composition of the Executive Council privately. The efforts[2] failed. Jinnah could not tolerate the idea that nationalist Muslims like Maulana Azad should be nominated by the Congress to the Executive Council. He did not agree even to the inclusion of non-League Muslims like Khizar Hayat Khan.

The Simla Conference thus failed on account of the intransigence of Jinnah. Jinnah made the fullest use of his power. This was the legacy left by Lord Linlithgow and the Government was using Jinnah as a cloak for retaining power in their hands, otherwise there is no reason why he and the Muslim League should not have been bypassed on account of the unreasonable character of their demands.

Churchill's determined opposition to any real progress in Indian affairs was a serious obstacle in the way of Lord Wavell.

According to A.K. Majumdar, "If the Conservative Party under Churchill had not used the Simla Conference as a pawn in the election propaganda, Wavell would have succeeded in forming an interim Government."[3]

Three years before in April 1942, it was the Congress that broke the Cripps Mission. In Simla it was the League that broke the Wavell Plan although Lord Wavell took the blame on himself. The Wavell Conference came to an end soon after the elections were over in England.

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 109.
[2]Ibid.
[3]B. Pattabhai Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, p. 203.

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Jinnah claimed the sole right to nominate all the Muslim representatives on the new Executive Council. He spurned the offer of Wavell to give four out of five seats reserved for Muslims to the League and one to a non-League Punjabi Muslim. The Congress could not accept the position. The Congress was not a Hindu body. It could not wipe out its history of fifty years. Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, agreed with Maulana Azad and held that the Muslim League could not be given the sole right of nominating all the Muslim members of the Executive Council. That would have amounted to a disenfranchisement of the non-League Muslims. The most important ground on which the attempts made in the past by the Congress to arrive at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question failed, was the inability of the Congress to accept the demand of Jinnah that the Congress should first recognise the League as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims.

The immediate cause[1] of the failure of the Simla Conference was merely a symptom of the deeper and irreconcilable opposition between the Muslim League demand for Pakistan and the Congress conception of an indivisible India. In the final analysis, blame for its failure must be laid at the door of the British Government. Its representatives failed to act justly and firmly.

Even though the Simla Conference failed, it was not barren of results. It clearly demonstrated, on the one side, the willingness and readiness of the Congress to shoulder the responsibility of administration provided there was real transfer of power to the people. It had another effect also. The suppression of the 1942 struggle had left the country in a mood of despair and frustration. The speeches made by Nehru and Sardar Patel after the Simla Conference and the lifting of the ban on the Congress went a long way in removing that feeling of frustration.

In his book, *India Wins Freedom*,[2] Maulana Abul Kalam Azad refers to the remarkable change that came in the attitude of the public services of the country, notably the three branches of the armed forces, the navy, the army, and air force, and the police. They came to be inspired by a new spirit of patriotism. These young men of the armed forces had accepted the British at their word that after the War, India would be free. Even the Indian soldiers

[1] V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, pp. 210-12.
[2] p. 118.

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fighting overseas and captured by the Japanese forces were no less affected by the spirit of patriotism, e.g. Ras Behari Bose was able to set up an Indian National Army in Japan for the liberation of India. A large number of Indian soldiers who were taken prisoners of war also joined the Indian National Army led by Subhash Chandra Bose. The Indian National Army was forced to retreat and finally to surrender when the dropping of an atom bomb on Hiroshima (6 August 1945) forced Japan to lay down arms. This army of Indian nationals had attacked India in 1944 and was at one stage on the point of capturing Imphal after the surrender of Japan. When the British reoccupied Burma, many officers of the Indian National Army were taken prisoners and some of them even faced trial for treason. At the request of the Congress High Command to Lord Wavell, a public trial of the officers was held in the Red Fort.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

The country had undergone a complete transformation. An absolutely new India had been born. The people, whether officials or non-officials, were fired with a new desire for freedom. There was also a change of spirit on the British side. The Labour Government came into power in England and was studying the Indian situation from the right angle. It sent out a Cabinet Mission in a positive mood.[1]

It arrived in New Delhi on 24 March 1946. The Mission consisted of Lord Pethic Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A.V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Gandhiji appealed to the Country not to suspect the bona fides of the Cabinet Mission. On landing in New Delhi, Lord Pethick Lawrence said, "We are mindful of the minorities and the minorities should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of the majority."

This evoked criticism from Jinnah who protested that the Muslims were not a 'minority' but a 'nation', and that it was futile to expect cooperation from the Muslim League if the machinery to be set up for the framing of the new Constitution was to be a single constitution-making body or assembly.

[1]V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, pp. 234-35.

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Nehru, on the other hand, detected a pleasant change in the tone and approach of Attlee's speech. Past distrust gave place to new hope and belief that India was at last on the road to freedom and independence.

The Cabinet Ministers[1] arrived on 24 March 1946. Their welcome had already been assured. Lord Pethic Lawrence re-assured both the Congress leaders as well as the Muslim League. The Secretary of State explained that the discussions now to begin were preliminary in setting up of machinery whereby the forms of Government under which India could realize her full independent status were to be determined by Indians. The objective was to set up an acceptable machinery quickly and to make the necessary interim arrangements; he also further announced that the Viceroy, while continuing to carry the full load of his normal responsibilities, would participate as a colleague in the discussions with the Indian leaders.

Thus, unlike the Cripps Mission in 1942, the Viceroy was not merely a consultant but an effective partner in the efforts of the Cabinet Mission to find a solution of the Indian problem.

The Cabinet Mission spent the[2] first week with the Viceroy acquainting themselves with the Indian situation. The next fortnight was given to interviews with party leaders and outstanding personages, the chief ministers of provinces, leaders of the opposition in the Central and Provincial legislatures, representatives of minorities, princes and their ministers and so on. In all these interviews was the difference of approach between the Congress and the Muslim League, "A United India versus Pakistan." Indeed, the desire for a United India was not confined to the Congress it was shared by almost everyone outside the Muslim League.

Congress presented the case on the basis of Independence and on the assumption that the future constitution would be determined by a constitution-making body. Regarding the future constitution, what the Congress had in mind was federal subjects, such as defence, communication and foreign affairs and autonomous provinces in which would vest the residuary powers. Congress[3] led by Azad (since he was the President of the Congress at that time) stated

[1]V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, pp. 234-37.
[2]Ibid., pp. 237-38.
[3]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 179.

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that the Congress could never agree to the partition of India and he further said that it was not possible to compel the Indian states to come in, but the proposition could be made attractive to them. Even Gandhiji made it clear to the Mission that he had never been able to appreciate the Pakistan demanded by Jinnah. In Gandhiji's view the two-nation theory was most dangerous. The Muslim population, but for a microscopic minority, was a population of converts. They were descendants of Indian born people. Gandhiji suggested that Jinnah should be asked to form the first government. If he refused, then the offer to form a Government should be made to the Congress.

Jinnah was invited by the Mission on 4 April 1946 and he said that "India was really many and was held by the British as one." The British Government was now saying that it would give complete independence to India inside or outside the Empire. To whom, asked Jinnah, was the Government of this subcontinent, with its fundamental differences, to be transferred? He, therefore, had come to the conclusion, after years of experience, that there was no other solution but the division of India. There were in India two totally different and deeply rooted civilizations side by side and the only solution was to have two 'steel frames', one in Hindustan and the other in Pakistan.

The Cabinet Mission on hearing Jinnah said that it had come to India to decide the ways and means by which the domination of the British authority in India was to come to an end. The Congress wanted a United India, while Jinnah insisted on two Indias with nothing more than treaties and agreements between them.

The case of the Sikh community was presented by Master Tara Singh as well as by Baldev Singh and Giani Kartar Singh.

Master Tara Singh said that he stood for a United India and for some sort of coalition Government of all communities.

Giani Kartar Singh said that the Sikhs would feel unsafe in either a United India or in Pakistan and they would have a province of their own where they would be in a dominant, or almost dominant position.

Ambedkar was interviewed on behalf of the Scheduled Castes Federation.

Ambedkar claimed that before[1] they left, the British must ensure

[1]V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, p. 246.

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that the new constitution guaranteed to the Scheduled Castes the elementary human rights of life and liberty. Ambedkar further said that weightage should also be given to the Scheduled Castes.

Shyama Prasad Mookerjee represented the Hindu Mahasabha. He handed in a memorandum which urged that His Majesty's Government should immediately declare India free and independent, that the integrity and indivisibility of the country should be maintained at any cost and that partition would be economically unsound, disastrous, politically unwise and suicidal.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Liberal leader, was also interviewed separately. He suggested the necessity for the immediate formation of an interim Government. He said he had always recognised that the Muslims should be given a satisfactory measure of power, but he saw a grave risk in partition. A strong Centre was vital for India. Sir Tej Bahadur advised the Mission not to attempt to bypass the Muslim League. They should make the most liberal offer possible to the Muslims short of the division of India. He believed that there were thousands of Muslims who were not convinced of the case of Pakistan.

On or about 10 April and while these interviews were still in progress, Jinnah called together in Delhi a convention of over four hundred members of the various legislatures recently elected on the Muslim League ticket. A lengthy resolution was passed which demanded a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan and the setting up of two separate constitution-making bodies by the people of Pakistan and Hindustan. Any attempt to impose a constitution on them contrary to their demand would leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all means possible for their survival and national existence. The Cabinet Mission had[1] before them the idea, for instance, of an Indian Union confined to defence and foreign affairs having under it two federations of Pakistan and Hindustan; Jinnah was apparently resolved not to budge an inch from his position.

The Mission again interviewed Jinnah on 16 April, and came to the conclusion that the full and complete demand for Pakistan had little chance of acceptance. Jinnah contended that his claim for six provinces was a reasonable demand but he could not possibly agree that Calcutta should go out merely for the sake

[1]V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, pp. 246-47.

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of five or six lakh of Hindus. Jinnah went on to say that if the Congress pressed the British Government to make an award, it was very likely that, in order to appease them, the latter would give some part of the six provinces of Pakistan to Hindustan. The Secretary of State interposed to say that the consequences of no agreement were much worse than that. A settlement without agreement would lead to chaos, and the whole future prospect for the Indian people would be dark.

On 17 April the Secretary of State met Azad and told him that Jinnah was entirely immovable regarding Pakistan.

The Cabinet Mission[1] proceeded to Kashmir for a short respite. While there they decided that they must adopt a new line of approach. The gist of the Plan was that an interim Government should be formed forthwith. The interim Government would be responsible for setting up an all India Commission from the elected members of the provincial and central assemblies, whose duty would be to determine (i) the provisions to be made for the protection of the minorities; (ii) whether there should be one or two sovereign states in British India and if within thirty days there was no answer to the question; (iii) the question would be put to vote.

Congress agreed to the three-tier constitution and even Jinnah agreed to it. But the Congress sent a reminder to the Mission for India's independence and the consequent withdrawal of British troops from India.

The Congress agreed to send the following representatives to the proposed conference at Simla namely, Azad, Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The following persons were nominated to participate on behalf of the League, namely Jinnah, Mohammad Ismail Khan, Liaquat Ali Khan and Abdul Rab-Nashtar. The Conference took place in Simla between 5 and 12 May 1946.

The Mission published its scheme on 16 May. It provided that only three subjects would belong compulsorily to the Central Government. These were defence, foreign affairs and communications. The Mission, however, added a new element to the plan. It divided the country into three zones, A, B, C, as the members of the Mission felt that this would give a greater sense of assurance to the minorities. Section B would include the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan. This would

[1]V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, pp. 253-57.

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constitute a Muslim majority area. In Section C which included Bengal and Assam, the Muslims would have a small majority over the rest. The Mission thought that this arrangement would give complete assurance to the Muslim minority, and satisfy all legitimate fears of the League.

The acceptance[1] of the Cabinet Mission Plan by both, Congress and Muslim League, was a glorious event in the history of the freedom movement in India. It meant that the difficult question of Indian freedom had been settled by negotiations and agreements and not by methods of violence and conflict. Throughout the country there was a sense of jubilation and everyone was united in the demand for freedom. The people rejoiced but they did not then know that their joy was premature and bitter disappointment awaited them.

After successfully negotiating with the Cripps Mission and then with the Cabinet Mission and also saving the Congress presidentship for seven years, Azad proposed the name of Jawaharlal Nehru for the presidentship of the Congress, and he was unanimously elected its President.

The AICC as well as the Muslim League passed resolutions accepting the Cabinet Missions' proposals.

Now happened one of those unfortunate events which changed the course of history. On 10 July 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru held a press conference in Bombay in which he made a statement which in normal circumstances might have passed almost unnoticed, but in the existing atmosphere of suspicion and hatred, it set in train a most unfortunate series of consequences. Some Press representatives asked him whether with the passing of the resolution by AICC, the Congress had accepted the plan in toto, including the composition of the interim Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru stated in reply that Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly completely unfettered by agreements and free to meet all situations as they arose.

Press representatives further asked if this meant that the Cabinet Mission Plan could be modified.

Nehru replied emphatically that the Congress had agreed only to participate in the Constituent Assembly and regarded itself free to change or modify the Cabinet Mission Plan as it thought best.

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 135.

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Nehru's statement came as a bomb-shell to Jinnah. He immediately issued a statement that this declaration by the Congress President (Jawaharlal Nehru) demanded a review of the whole situation.

Jinnah accordingly asked Liaquat Ali Khan to call a meeting of the Muslim League Council and issue a statement that the Muslim League had accepted the Cabinet Mission plan in Delhi, as it was assured that the Congress had also accepted the scheme and that the plan would be the basis of the future constitution of India. Now that the Congress President had declared that the Congress would change the scheme through its majority in the Constituent Assembly, this would mean that the minorities were placed at the mercy of the majority. Jinnah's view was that Jawaharlal Nehru's declaration meant that the Congress had rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan and as such the Viceroy should call upon the Muslim League, which had accepted the Plan, to form the Government.

The Muslim League met at Bombay on 27 July 1946. In his opening speech Jinnah reiterated the demand for Pakistan as the only course left open to the Muslim League. After three days of discussions, the Council passed a resolution rejecting the Cabinet Mission Plan. It also decided to resort to direct action for the achievement of Pakistan.

The AICC's meeting was called immediately. On the one side, the prestige of the Congress President was at stake, on the other, to give up the Cabinet Mission Plan would ruin the country. Finally a resolution was drafted which made no reference to the press conference but reaffirmed the resolution of the AICC. This unequivocal acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan by the Congress Working Committee led to an immediate response from the Viceroy. On 12 August 1946, Jawaharlal was invited by the Viceroy Lord Wavell to form an interim Government at the Centre in the following terms:

> His Excellency the Viceroy, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, has invited the President of the Congress to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government and the President of the Congress has accepted the invitation.

Jinnah rejected Jawaharlal's invitation to cooperate in the formation of an Interim Government. Later, Jawaharlal met Jinnah at

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his residence in Bombay but nothing came of their discussions and the situation rapidly deteriorated.

Subsequently, Jinnah declared 16 August as Direct Action Day.

In Calcutta, a strange feeling was developing. In the past, political parties had observed special days by organising hartals, taking out processions and holding meetings. The League's Direct Action Day seemed to be of a different type. It was a general feeling that the Muslim League would attack Congressmen and loot Congress property.

Further panic was created when the Bengal Government decided to declare 16 August a public holiday. There was a general sense of anxiety in Calcutta which was heightened by the fact that the Government was under the control of the Muslim League and H.S. Suhrawardy was the Chief Minister.

The 16 August was a black day in the history of India. Unprecedented mob violence plunged the great city of Calcutta into an orgy of bloodshed, murder and terror. Hundreds of lives were lost and thousands were injured and Hindu property worth crores of rupees was destroyed. Processions were taken out by the League, which began to loot and commit acts of arson. Soon the whole city was in the grip of goondas.

Throughout Calcutta, the military and the police were waiting in trucks. However, the orders for them was to stand by but not to take any action, so they remained inactive while innocent men and women were being killed. The 16 August was not a black day for Calcutta but for the whole of India. The turn that events had taken made it impossible to expect a peaceful solution by agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. Jinnah took full advantage of Calcutta's tragedy and withdrew from the Leagues' earlier acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Everywhere in the[1] country there was great turmoil. In Uttar Pradesh, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan were then the leaders of the Muslim League. Both supported the Muslim League candidates under the impression that after the elections, the Muslim League would work in cooperation with the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan that only one of them could be taken into the ministry. They expressed their regrets and said that they were

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, pp. 142-44.

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unable to accept Jawaharlal's offer. Pandit Jawaharlal's action gave the Muslim League a new lease of life. It was from Uttar Pradesh that the League was reorganised. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan. Jinnah turned the whole League against the Congress. After the elections, many of his supporters had been on the point of leaving Jinnah, but now he was able to win them back to his fold.

The Interim Government

The Congress had entrusted the Parliamentary Committee with the task of forming the Interim Government. The Government also decided that it should include an experienced economist as the First Indian Finance Member. Dr John Mathai was selected, though he was not in any sense a Congressman.

The Muslim League was not only disappointed but enraged. It is felt that it had been let down by the British. It attempted to stage strong demonstrations in Delhi and elsewhere, but its attempts failed.

Nevertheless there was bitterness[1] and trouble throughout the country and Lord Wavell felt that he must persuade the League to join the Government. He sent for Jinnah and had several meetings with him. Ultimately, on 26 October the Muslim League decided to join the Interim Government. Even after its entry into the Government, the League continued its campaign of Direct Action and the economic boycott of Hindus. In October 1946, there was a large-scale outbreak of lawlessness and hooliganism in the Noakhali and Tripura districts of East Bengal. The loss of human lives and property was considerable. It was an organised attack engineered by the Muslim League. Muslim League declared that it was a part of All India battle for Pakistan. Lord Wavell felt that unless the League participated in the Government, the programme for carrying out the Cabinet Mission Plan would be upset. On 24 August the King had accepted the resignations of the existing members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. His Majesty had been pleased to appoint in their places the following, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr Rajindra Prasad, M. Asaf Ali, C. Rajagopalachari, Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr John Mathai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir Shafat M. Khan, Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer, C.H. Bhabha.

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 147.

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The Interim Government would take office on 2 September and on 7 September, Nehru would broadcast from All India Radio and speak to the nation to the effect that they would go to the Constituent Assembly to build up a contented and united India and so on. . . .

The Muslim League decided to enter the Interim Government with but one purpose and that was not to allow the Congress to consolidate its position to the detriment of the League's interests. On 26 October the League entered the Assembly. East Bengal's repercussions were widely felt in Chapra, Ahmednagar and Ahmedabad. The repercussions in Bihar were dreadful.

Jinnah's nominees, apart from Liaquat Ali Khan, were the important and experienced leaders of the Muslim League, Khwaja Nazimuddin of Bengal and Nawab Ismail Khan of Uttar Pradesh.

Since the League had decided to enter the Assembly, Jinnah acted in a most peculiar way. Khwaja Nazimuddin and Nawab Ismail Khan had never taken an extreme position in the disputes between the Congress and the League. This had obviously displeased Jinnah. He thought that they would refuse to be 'Yes men' and he, therefore, decided to exclude them from his list. When he submitted his list to Lord Wavell, the names he included were those of Liaquat Ali Khan, I.I. Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nashtar, Ghaznafar Ali Khan and Jogender Nath Mandal. To include Mandal's name was most ridiculous on Jinnah's part. Since Congress had nominated Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsee, Scheduled Caste and Christian members on the Executive Council, Jinnah felt that he should also include one non-Muslim member. His choice aroused both amusement and anger. The Home portfolio was given to Sardar Patel; Finance to the League and Liaquat Ali became the Finance Minister. Congress soon realized that it had committed a great blunder in handing over Finance to the League since Finance plays a key role in the Government. In India, his position was even more important, for the British Government had treated the Finance Member as the Custodian of its interests. This was a portfolio which had always been held by Englishmen specially brought to India for the purpose. The Finance member could interfere in every department and dictate policy. Every proposal of every department was subject to scrutiny by his department. In addition he had the power of veto. Not a peon could be appointed in any department without the sanction of his department.

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Now Sardar Patel[1] realized that by retaining the Home, he had played into the hands of the League by offering Finance to it. Liaquat Ali's persistent interference made it difficult for any Congress member to function effectively. Then the question rose about Defence. Wavell wanted to keep it outside politics. If the Congress member was in charge of Defence, it would give the League a handle for making unfounded charges. Wavell suggested that the Defence member should be neither a Hindu nor a Muslim but a Sikh. Sardar Baldev Singh, a Sikh, was at that time a minister in the Punjab and on Lord Wavell's suggestion he agreed to take charge of Defence. Attlee was also taking a personal interest in Indian developments. On 26 November 1946, he invited Lord Wavell and representatives of the Congress and the League to meet in London in another attempt to resolve the deadlock. At first Congress was not willing to accept it. Jawaharlal in fact told Lord Wavell that there would be no point in going to London for further discussions. Lord Wavell did not agree with Jawaharlal. He said if the present attitude of the League continued, not only would the administration suffer but a peaceful solution of the Indian problem would become more and more difficult. He further argued that discussions in London would have the advantage of allowing the leaders to take a more objective and dispassionate view.

Wavell also[2] stressed the point, that Attlee had been a friend of India and his participation in the discussions might prove helpful. It was then decided by the Congress that Jawaharlal should go to London to represent the Congress. The League was represented by Jinnah and Liaquat Ali, while Baldev Singh went on behalf of the Sikhs. The discussion were held from 3 till 6 December 1946, but yielded little or no result.

The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly[3] was held on 11 December 1946. The question arose as to who should be the president of the Assembly. Both Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel were of the view that someone not in the Government should be elected President. Finally Dr Rajendra Prasad was elected though he was a member of the Government. This proved a very happy choice for he carried out the duties of President with great distinction and

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 151.
[2]Ibid., pp. 152-53.
[3]Ibid., pp. 153-54.

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offered valuable suggestions and advice on many critical issues.

Gandhiji suggested that the pattern of future education was a basic question for free India and in the true national spirit he persuaded Azad to accept education. Accordingly, on 15 January 1947, Azad took over education from Shri C. Rajagopalachari who had till then been the education member.

The League members were thwarting the Congress at every step. They were in the Government and yet against it. In fact, they were in a position to sabotage every move the Congress took. There was a new shock for the Congress when the budget was presented by Liaquat Ali.

He proposed taxation measures which would have impoverished all rich men and done permanent damage to commerce and industry.

Simultaneously, he brought forth a proposal for the appointment of a commission to enquire into allegations regarding unpaid taxes and their recovery from businessmen and industrialists.

Sardar Patel and Rajagopalachari in particular were violently opposed to his budget, for they felt that Liaquat Ali was more concerned to harass industrialists and businessmen than to serve the interests of the country because the majority of them were Hindus. Rajaji said openly in the Cabinet that he was opposed to Liaquat Ali's proposals and hinted that they were based on communal considerations. The situation was difficult and delicate. The Muslim League had at first accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan and then rejected it.

The Labour Government in England was in a dilemma. Should they allow the present state to continue or should they take a forward step on their own initiative. Attlee decided that the British Government should fix a date for the withdrawal of British power from India. Lord Wavell did not agree regarding the announcement of a date. He wished to persist with the Cabinet Mission Plan, for he held that it was the only possible solution of the Indian problem. Wavell further held that the British Government would fail in its duty if it transferred political power before the communal question had been solved. Passions had been roused to such a peak in India that even responsible people were carried away.

He, therefore, advised[1] that status quo be maintained and that

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, pp. 160-61.

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every effort be made to compose the differences between the two major parties. It was his firm conviction that it would be dangerous and unworthy if the British withdrew without a previous understanding between the Congress and the League. Attlee feared that if the status quo was continued, Indians would lose their faith in the British Government. Conditions in India were such that the British could not maintain their power without an effort which the British people were not prepared to make. The only alternative was to rule with a firm hand and suppress all disturbances, or transfer power to Indians themselves. The Government could continue to govern, but this would require an effort which would interfere with the reconstruction of Britain.

Lord Wavell was not convinced. He still argued that if communal difficulties led to violence, history would not forgive the British. The British had governed India for over a hundred years and they would be responsible if unrest, violence and disorder broke out as a result of their withdrawal. When he found that he could not convince Attlee, Lord Wavell offered his resignation.

Attlee's decision was governed by his determination to help India to attain independence. Anyone with slightest imperialist tendencies could easily have exploited India's weakness. In fact Hindu-Muslim differences had always been exploited by the British Government. In spite of the Congress opposition, the British could have governed the country for another decade. There would, of course, have been disturbances and clashes. Indian feelings had been aroused to a level where British rule would have been challenged at every step.

Lord Wavell was not wrong. The[1] dangers he foresaw were real and later events proved that his reading of the situation was not incorrect. It is difficult to say which of the alternatives—the one actually adopted by Attlee or the one suggested by Lord Wavell—would have been better for India. If Lord Wavell's advice had been followed and the solution of the Indian problem deferred for a year or two, it is possible that the Muslim League would have got tired of its opposition. Even if the League had not taken a more positive attitude, the Muslim masses of India would probably have repudiated the negative attitude of the Muslim League. It was even possible that the tragedy of Indian partition might have been avoided.

After the failure of the Cripps Mission, Churchill's Government

[1]Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 162.

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had made up its mind to put the Indian question in cold storage for the duration of the War. Indian opinion could also find no way out and the events after 1942 had further increased the bitterness. To Lord Wavell must belong the credit for opening the closed door. Inspite of initial opposition from the Coalition Government, he was able to persuade them to agree to make a new offer to India, The result was the Simla Conference. India will never forget his services.

His last appeal to the Cabinet members still was that they should not take any hasty decision.

Attlee made a momentous statement in the House of Commons on 20 February 1947. He said the present state of uncertainty was fraught with danger and could not be indefinitely prolonged. The Congress Working Committee considered the statement and welcomed it, but Jinnah refused to comment on it and said that the Muslim League would not budge an inch from its demand for Pakistan.

Lord Mountbatten

Attlee announced that Lord Wavell would be succeeded as Viceroy in March by Admiral Viscount Mountbatten, who would be entrusted with the task of "transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the Government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India"—not later than June 1948.

Winston Churchill condemned the Constituent Assembly and said in Parliament, "that the British Government was handing over the Government of India to these so-called political classes who are nothing but men of straw and in a few years no trace of them would remain."

The Mountbatten Mission

Lord Mountbatten arrived in Delhi on 22 March 1947. He was the thirty-fourth and last of the British Governor-Generals of India. On 23 March Lord Wavell left Delhi. He broke tradition by making a speech at the swearing-in-ceremony. He said that His Majesty's Government was resolved to transfer power by June 1948 and stressed the need for reaching a solution within the next few months. Before this could happen, a settlement of the communal problem was necessary.

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The Governor-General's[1] normal staff in India consisted of three secretaries, namely, Personal Secretary or Private Secretary, Public Secretary and Reforms Secretary. These three secretaries were directly under the Governor General, that is, outside, the Government of India Secretariat. In addition, Lord Mountbatten had brought his own staff with him from England, among whom were some notable persons. His Chief of Staff was Lord Ismay, who had been Military Secretary to Lord Willingdon, when the latter was Viceroy of India and had been Churchill's Personal Military Adviser and Liaison Officer with the combined chiefs of staff throughout the War, then there was Sir Eric Mieville and R.V. Brockman and Alen Campbell-Johnson[2] as press attache.

In his very[3] first interview with Lord Mountbatten, Gandhiji suggested that the Viceroy should dismiss the existing Cabinet and give Jinnah the option of forming a new one, that the selection of the members should be left entirely to Jinnah, they might be all Muslims or all non-Muslims, or they might be representatives of all classes and creeds. If Jinnah accepted the offer, the Congress would guarantee to cooperate freely and sincerely, so long as all the measures that the Cabinet might adopt were in the interests of the Indian people as a whole. The sole referee of what was, or was not, in the interests of India as a whole would be Lord Mountbatten in his personal capacity. Jinnah should, on his part, undertake on behalf of the League that there should be no Muslim National Guards. Within the above limits, Jinnah would be perfectly at liberty, for example, to plan for Pakistan and even to put his plans into effect before the transfer of power, provided he was successful in appealing to reason and did not use force. If Jinnah refused, the same offer should be made to the Congress.

It was rejected by Jinnah and his colleagues. Lord Mountbatten was required by his 'directive' to find an agreed solution for a united India on the basis of the Cabinet Mission Plan. But in the course of his talks with the party leaders, particularly with Jinnah and his colleagues, he became more and more convinced that there was no prospect of an agreed solution on that basis and that an alternative plan for the transfer of power had to be found and

[1]V.P. Menon, op. cit., p. 351.
[2]A. Campbell Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten.*
[3]V.P. Menon, op. cit., p. 352.

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implemented without loss of time in order to ease the growing political tension. The Viceroy put forward his alternative plan on 16 April 1947. He aquainted the Governors with the talks he had with the party leaders and invited their opinion on the tentative plan. Sir Evan Jenkins (Governor of the Punjab) had always held the view that partition of the Punjab would be disastrous. Sir Frederick Burrows, Governor of Bengal also expressed the same view. Consultation with the Governors certainly gave Lord Mountbatten a good idea of the colossal administrative difficulties involved in a transfer of power based on partition. Jinnah wanted six provinces, the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam. He finally demanded the division of the defence forces and stressed that the States of Pakistan and India should be made absolutely free, independent and sovereign states.

The communal tension in the country[1] was thus steadily going from bad to worse. In the face of this deteriorating situation, Lord Mountbatten sent his revised plan to London with Lord Ismay and George Abell on 2 May 1947. He urged His Majesty's Government's approval by 10 May in order to call a meeting of all-party leaders on 14 May to ascertain their reaction. Pending receipt of His Majesty's Government's approval to the proposed plan, Lord Mountbatten decided to go to Simla for a short respite.

Nehru with Krishna Menon arrived in Simla on 8 May. They stayed as guests of the Viceroy at Viceregal Lodge. Lord Mountbatten discussed his plan with Nehru to find out his reactions, but he never disclosed the plan which Lord Ismay had taken to London. At this conference, Lord Mountbatten told Nehru that he wanted an early transfer of power on the basis of dominion status. The broad lines were that the Muslim majority areas should be separated from India and that the transfer of power should be to two Central Governments, India and Pakistan each having its own Governor-General.

On the same day, the Viceroy received from London the plan which had been taken by Lord Ismay as finalised and the Viceroy invited Nehru, Jinnah, Patel, Liaquat Ali Khan and Baldev Singh to Delhi on 17 May 1947, when he would present to them the plan which His Majesty's Government had approved for the transfer of power to Indian hands.

[1]V.P. Menon, op. cit., pp. 354-55.

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On the night of 10 May, Lord Mountbatten showed Nehru the plan he had received from London. Nehru turned it down most vehemently as there were some modifications in it. Nehru's whole charm and smile had gone and he was obviously upset. But Nehru at the instance of V.P. Menon approved of the idea of dominion status as discussed with Lord Mountbatten previously at Simla. The only question was whether Jinnah would accept a "truncated Pakistan".

The conference of party leaders[1] fixed for 17 May was postponed to 2 June. On 18 May, Lord Mountbatten left for London. V.P. Menon also went with him and en route at Karachi he met Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of Sind. Nehru and Jinnah were both kept fully informed in Delhi of the developments in London.

During Lord Mountbatten's absence in England a new complication had arisen. Jinnah demanded a 'corridor' to link West and East Pakistan. Nehru characterised the demand as fantastic and absurd and other Congress leaders strongly opposed it.

The Viceroy on his return prevailed upon Jinnah not to persist in this demand.

On 2 June at the Viceroy's House, was held the historic conference attended by the seven leaders—Nehru, Patel, and Kriplani on behalf of the Congress, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdul Rab Nishtar on behalf of the League and Baldev Singh representing the Sikhs. On 3 June a White Paper was issued which gave all the details of the plan. The worst fears of the partition were realized. The price for freedom was the partitioning of India into two States. The publication of the White Paper Plan meant the end of all hopes for preserving the unity of India. It was for[2] the first time that the Cabinet Mission Plan was discarded and partition accepted officially.

Why had the Labour Government changed its attitude? It had always sympathized with the Congress and its leaders and had many times openly declared that the Muslim League was a reactionary body. Its surrender to the demands of the Muslim League was due more to its anxiety to safeguard British interests than its desire to please the Muslim League. A State dominated by the Muslim League would offer a permanent sphere of influence to the British. With a British base in Pakistan, India would have to pay greater attention to British interests than she would otherwise do. All these factors

[1]V.P. Menon, op. cit., pp. 356-57.
[2]Ibid., pp. 360-61.

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must have weighed with the Labour Government. Moreover Sir Pethic-Lawrence who was a great friend of India was replaced by Lord Listowel. The Labour Government had pledged its support for Indian freedom, but the Tory Governments could not forget that during the political struggle, Congress had always opposed the British and the League had always supported them.

When Lord Mountbatten proposed the partition of India and the creation of a new State to satisfy the Muslim League, the proposal found a sympathetic response from many of the members of the Labour Cabinet.

Lord Mountbatten must have stressed this point when he met the Conservative Party. Churchill had never been in favour of the Cabinet Mission Plan. He found the Mountbatten Plan much more to his taste and threw his weight in favour of it. This fact may also have weighed with the Labour Government, as Conservative support would make the passage of the Indian Independence Bill much easier in Parliament.

3 June 1947

The Congress Working Committee met on 3 June and considered the new situation. The Viceroy's Conference with the leaders was resumed. He aquainted them with the replies he had received from the three political parties. He said he had received written assurances from the Congress and the Sikhs and a verbal assurance from the Muslim League.[1]

On the evening of 3 June the Viceroy broadcast over All India Radio. He gave a short account of his discussions with the leaders of different political parties. It became impossible to obtain agreement on the Cabinet Mission Plan or any other plan that would preserve the unity of India. The Muslim League had demanded the partition of India and the Congress had used the same argument for demanding, in that event, the partition of certain provinces. Hence it was left to the people of India themselves to decide the question of partition. It was necessary to ascertain the will of the people of the Punjab, Bengal and part of Assam, to lay down boundaries between the Muslim majority and remaining areas, but he wished to

[1]V.P. Menon, op. cit, pp. 381-82.

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make it clear that the ultimate boundaries would be settled by a Boundary Commission.

Then followed broadcasts by the Indian leaders. Nehru said that there was "no joy in his heart" when he commended these proposals, though he had no doubt in his mind that it was the right course. He referred to the violence in the country as "shameful, degrading and revolting" and stressed that political ends were not to be achieved by methods of violence.[1]

Jinnah also spoke to Muslim India to maintain peace and order. Baldev Singh said that it was not a compromise but a settlement.

The Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee met in Delhi and passed a resolution which stressed that India was one and indivisible and there would never be peace unless and until the separated areas were brought back into the Indian Union. The Mahasabha even called for an All India Anti-Pakistan Day.

The extremists on the Muslim side were also dissatisfied; and the Khanksars, a group of militant Muslims (who demanded a Pakistan stretching from Karachi to Calcutta) staged demonstrations when the All India Muslim League Council met in Delhi. Strangely enough, the Communists who had been backing Jinnah's demand for Pakistan now changed their views.

Progressive opinion throughout the world applauded the 3 June Plan as a courageous effort on the part of the Labour Government and Lord Mountbatten.

The 3 June Plan having been accepted by the parties concerned, the next task of His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy was to concentrate on the problems of its early implementation.

Verdict of the Provinces

In Bengal, the Provincial Legislative Assembly met on 20 June and decided by 126 votes to 90 in favour of joining a new Constituent Assembly. The members from the non-Muslim majority areas of West Bengal then met and decided by 58 votes to 21 that the Province should be partitioned and that West Bengal should join the existing Indian Constituent Assembly while the members from the Muslim-majority areas of East Bengal met and decided by 106 votes to 35 that the Province should not be partitioned and by almost

[1]V.P. Menon, op. cit., p. 382.

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Cabinet Mission visited India, He was attached to Sardar Baldev Singh when he visited London in December 1946 along with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mr Jinnah.[27]

Lord Mountbatten had interviewed Major J. M. Short while selecting his staff before coming to India as Governor-General. He had then found no use for him. As the Viceroy was keen to pacify the Sikhs, he recommended Major Short's re-employment to the Secretary of State for India and instructed Lord Ismay, who was then in England, to bring Major Short with him. Major Short reached India on the 22nd July, 1947. As a matter of fact, by then it had almost been settled that population was to be the basis of partition, subject to the weight of other factors. Meanwhile, the Shiromani Akali Dal, a representative body of the Sikh's continued to exert itself for the inclusion of the Sikhs shrines in the East Punjab. One deputation was sent to England to mobilize British public opinion in favour of the Sikhs. The local Sikhs went in a procession to Downing Street to present a memorandum to the British Prime Minister regarding the Sikh demands.[28]

On the 14th July, Mr Arthur Henderson, the then Under Secretary of State in a reply to a question said in the House of Commons, "The provision that other factors will be taken into account has been made primarily to enable the Commission to have regard to the special circumstances of the Sikh community in the Punjab where considerations such as location of their relgious shrines can reasonably be taken into account up to a point.[29] Mr Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan were upset over this statement and argued with the Viceroy that the accepted principle of partition was "contiguous majority areas" and that the "question of religious shrines of any community had never been discussed before."[30] The Viceroy agreed to convey their protest to the

27. Major Short's talk with the writer.
28. Statement of S. Rawel Singh, President of Central Khalsa Jatha, Britain, 79, Sinclair Road, London (1964) who was one of the deputationists who presented the memorandum.
29. *Hansard* Vol. 440, p. 74
30. "Freedom But Danger Ahead" *Dawn's* Leading Article on 20th July, 1947

all four of us wrote separate reports."[37]

Justice Mahajan was the first to submit his report on August 3, 1947. While discussing various points, he suggested the following boundary line : 'In my view the frontier of India and Pakistan should be demarcated on the west of the Ravi and in the neighbourhood of that river as, strategically speaking, this is the only workable frontier. The frontier line will take the course of the Basantar River as leaving the tract of Shakargarh Tehsil on the west side. This line should join the River Ravi at the confluence of the Basantar River with the River Ravi below Narowal. From there, it should follow the course of the Ravi up to Shahdra. From Shahdra, it should proceed via Sheikhupura to Nanakana Sahib, include that town in the East Punjab and then it should join the Deg Nala up to its confluence with the River Ravi near Syedwala. From there, the course of the Ravi should be followed till Channu and then should adopt the border of the Montgomery District with the Multan District and join the River Sutlej some distance above the Islam Headworks."[38]

Justice Teja Singh submitted his report on the next day, *i.e.* August 4, 1947. While emphasizing the importance of the Sikhs, Sikh shrines and the contribution of the Sikhs to the development of the land, he suggested the following boundary line : "I would draw the north-western boundary of the Eastern Punjab along the River Chenab from where it enters the Punjab going right up to Khanki and from there turn to the right bank of the Lower Chenab Canal up to Nanwana, then follow the bank of the Rakh Branch up to the place where it enters the Lyallpur District, go along the present boundary between the districts of Sheikhupura and Lyallpur right up to the point where Deg Nala joins the Ravi River, then follow the Ravi River and the present boundaries between Lyallpur and Montgomery districts, turn to Channu, then following first the present western boundary of the Montgomery District and then up to the banks of the River Sutlej and the present southern boundary of the Montgomery District come to Sulemanki where the districts

37. *Looking Back*, cit. op., p. 115
38. *P.P.*, Vol. VI, pp. 188-89

2. I put before that Committee the views of the Partition Council on the matters discussed at their meeting on 17th July, as recorded in Case No. PC/56/6/47.

3. It was agreed that the Government of East Punjab should in any case move all unessential personnel to Simla on 10th August.

4. It was further agreed that, if the decision of the Boundary Commission places Lahore in the West Punjab the remnants of the East Punjab Government should leave Lahore by midnight 14/15th August; and that, if Lahore was placed in the East Punjab, the Government of the West Punjab, should leave Lahore by midnight 14/15th August—and that detailed plans should be made for the contingency beforehand.

5. It was agreed that the posting of officers should continue on the basis of the notional partition, except in the case of Deputy Commissioners and Superintendens of Police in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore.

6. In these three districts there happen now to be British Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police. It was agreed that these should remain in control until the 15th August ; but that each side should be entitled to nominate personnel ready to take over from them, and that there would be no objection to these personnel being attached to the districts in advance of the 15th August, though without any executive authority. On the 15th August, on the withdrawal of the British officials, and on or before that date the personnel of the Government not entitled by the award to assume control, will be withdrawn.

7. I am glad to be able to report that all the members of the Punjab Partition Committee, and particularly the Sikh member, Sardar Swaran Singh, declared that their parties would accept and abide by the decision of the Boundary Commission.

8. I told them that the Central Partition Council had decided to issue a statement, assuring minorities and warning against disturbances. I am glad to be able to report that the members of the Punjab Partition Committee agreed to issue a similar statement signed both themselves and by as many of the influential leaders

death struggle for self determination for 13 long years."[3]

The Tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala

According to Andrew Mellor, "In the award, a particular cause of anger to the Muslims was that a large part of the Muslim-majority area of Gurdaspur went to the East Punjab, thus giving India an extended frontier with Kashmir."[4] K. Sarwar Hassan writes, "Included in the Punjab areas given by Radcliffe to India were two Muslim-majority tehsils (sub districts) of the Gurdaspur district. We have it on the authority of Lord Birdwood, an Indian Army Officer of a long experience, that it was Radcliffe's award to India of Gurdaspur and Batala Tehsils with Muslim majorities which rendered possible the maintenance of an Indian force at Jammu based on Pathankot as railhead and which enabled India to consolidate for defences southwards all the way from Uri to the Pakistan border."[5] According to Brecher "Muslim League leaders were dismayed for Gurdaspur was of vital significance, it was then the only useable link between India and the princely State of Jammu and Kashmir (for India). A few months later, when the conflict over Kashmir arose Pakistan leaders blamed what they considered to be manifestly an unjust decision on Gurdaspur."[6]

Perhaps the demarcation of the boundary-line in the district of Gurdaspur would not have aroused so much cries from Pakistan, had there been no Indo-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir. It is, therefore, important to examine in detail the position of the Gurdaspur District. This consisted of four tehsils (sub-districts) with the Muslim population percentage noted against each, according to the census of 1941 :

1.	Tehsil Batala	...	55.06%
2.	Tehsil Shakargarh	...	51.3%
3.	Tehsil Gurdaspur	...	51.1%
4.	Tehsil Pathankot	...	38.8%

As a whole, the Gurdaspur district had a 50.4 per cent

3. 'Pakistan Perspective', *Pakistan Anthology*, 1961, pages 3-4
4. Andrew Mellor *India Since Partition*, London 1951, p. 38
5. K. Sarwar, *Pakistan and United Nations*, New York, 1960, p. 45
6. Michael Brecher, *Nehru, A Political Biography*, London 1959, p. 359

Radcliffe told the writer that his private talk always leaked out to the Muslim press). He was jubilant, but was disappointed a few days later, when by the award which came three days after the scheduled time, these tehsils went to India".[12]

The district of Ferozepur had five tehsils of which the following two had Muslim-majority population :

Ferozepur Tehsil	...	55.2%
Zira Tehsil	...	65.2%

The Muslims in the Ferozepur District, as a whole, formed 44.6 per cent of the population.

It is clear that, if the Muslim population on a tehsil basis were considered for demarcating the boundary line, as demanded by the counsel for the Muslims and no other factor taken into account, then Pakistan could have had tehsils of Zira and Ferozepur and not the tehsil of Fazilka as afterwards claimed by the Justice Mohammad Munir. The Fazilka Tehsil was a non-Muslim-majority area, with about 57 per cent non-Muslims. Sir Cyril Radcliffe gave the following reasons in his award for this transfer, "I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej River and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej Rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion that would be in the true interests of neither state to extend the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of Sutlej and there are factors such as the disruption of railway communication and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claim of contiguous majorities."[13]

But it did not convince the Pakistan leaders as K. Sarwar Hassan writes, "Disruption of railway line is not irrepairable for these could be re-aligned. But so far as the water systems were concernd, the effect of the Award was not to save them from disruption but, as we shall see, to disrupt them with disasterous consequences. Radcliffe as a trained lawyer could not but have known what he was doing."[14] Sir Zafar-ullah, Pakistan's first

12. *The Tribune*, Ambala Cantt, April 26, 1960
13. Para 10, *Radcliffe Award*, vide Appendix
14. Sarwar Hassan—*Pakistan and United Nations*, New York, 1960, page 42

The Viceroy seems to have decided to release the award relating to the Punjab on the 16th August, just as he had done in the case of the 3rd June Plan. This procedure was not considered essential for the awards relating to Bengal and Assam.

The meeting of the representatives of India and Pakistan could not be held on the 14th August, as it had been declared as Pakistan's Independence Day. The Viceroy spent the whole day in Karachi. The next day, *i e.* the 15th August, was India's Independence Day. Since Lord Mountbatten did not want to mar the independence celebrations, he preferred to postpone the Punjab Boundary Award by a couple of days. Alan Campbell Johnson notes the reaction to the release of the Punjab Boundary Award in the meeting of the representatives of India and Pakistan on the 16th August afternoon : "But the rejoicings of the morning were too soon tempered by the depression of the leaders this afternoon. When Mountbatten handed over to them the Radcliffe Award,.....Liaqat was there .....I was present at this sober and sullen gathering where the only unanimity was in denunciation of this or that communal 'injustice'. The field was thus left clear for Mountbatten to point with well-timed emphasis the moral that in so as far as it was impossible for all parties to be eqully satisfied with Radcliffe's verdict, the best evidence of its fairness to rest in the undoubted equality of their displeasure".[30]

Assessment of the Award

Sir Cyril Radcliffe himself has rightly assessed the Punjab Boundary Award when he wrote ".....the Award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to their bearing on the placings of the boundary."[31] "Whatever had been the Award, it would not have satisfied both parties as the claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory."[32]

The Punjab Boundary Award was bitterly resented in both the East Punjab and the West Punjab. The West Punjab resented

30. *Mission with Lord Mountbatten*, page 167; Vide also Epilogue
31. Para 12, *Radcliffe Award*, vide Appendix
32. Para 9, Ibid

Lahore, and extended from Monday the 21st of July, 1947, to Thursday the 31st of July, 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, the 27th of July. The main arguments were conducted by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly; but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined my colleagues, and we entered upon discussions in the hope of being to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different views, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that the divergence of opinon between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab on the West and on the East respectively which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned ; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term "other factors", which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In those circumstances, my colleagues, at the close of our discussion, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

7. This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms

If means to be found to gratify to the full these sentiments and aspirations, I think that they must be found in political arrangements with which I am not concerned, and not in the decision of a boundary line drawn under the terms of reference of this Commission.

New Delhi.
The 12th August, 1947 *CYRIL RADCLIFFE*

THE SCHEDULE

Annexure A

1. The boundary between the East and West Punjab shall commence on the north at the point where the west branch of the Ujh River enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir. The boundary shall follow the line of that river down the western boundary of the Pathankot Tehsil to the point where the Pathankot, Shakargarh and Gurdaspur Tehsils meet. The tehsils boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh River shall constitute the boundary between the East and the West Punjab.

2. From the point of meeting of the three tehsils above mentioned, the boundary (line) between the East and the West Punjab shall follow the line of the Ujh River to its junction with the River Ravi and thereafter the line of the River Ravi along the boundary between the tehsils of Gurdaspur and Shakargarh, the boundary between the tehsils of Batala and Narowal, the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Shadara, to the point on the River Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the district of Lahore. The tehsil boundaries referred to, and the actual course of the River Ujh or the River Ravi, shall constitute the boundary between the East and the West Punjab.

3. From the point on the River Ravi where the district is divided from the district of Lahore, the boundary between the East and the West Punjab shall turn southwards following the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Lahore and then the tehsils of Tarn Taran and Lahore, to the point where the tehsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn south westward along the boundary between the tehsils of Lahore and Kasur to the point where that boundary meets the north-east corner of village Theh Jharollian. It will then run along the

and preserved from the extremes of favouritism or oppression. In the first place it may involve an outlay for the construction of workshops but ultimately, a great saving is effected in the reduction of guards.

Solitary Confinement: The Board are favourable to the principle of solitary confinement.

Stocks and Night Chains Abolished: The use of stocks and night chains, which at the commencement of our rule was sometimes indispensable to security, has been strictly prohibited. The guards are ample for the safe custody of the convicts.

Economy: In many other respects there is room for economy, in none more than in the supply of native medicines. The average annual expenditure per head (including all items), is at present sixty rupees. By the issue of circulars the Board have impressed upon all their district officers the necessity of economy.

Central Control: Lastly with a view to give effect to all this reform, sanitary, moral and economical, the President and Junior Member of the Board, are anxious to establish a central controlling authority, by which the returns submitted from various parts of the country both regarding discipline and expenditure, may be tested and compared, and the entire jail management of the province may be subjected to the most intelligent scrutiny. They, therefore, appointed the Superintendent of Lahore Jail to supervise the district jails, one Dr Hathamay who has, since annexation been in Medical Charge of the Lahore jails which he successfully superintended during several trying years and amidst the distractions of other pressing duties.

Administration of Civil Justice: The Board believe that the union of fiscal and judicial functions in the same set of officers is calculated to confer many benefits on the landed community. The Board resolved to vest the ordinary Civil Courts with power to entertain such cases relating to real property as might require immediate decision. At the same time provisions were made to secure strict control on the part of commissioners over the exercise of their powers. The Board with a view to provide justice cheap and easy, the Commissioner has been empowered to vest the local Tehsildars with authority to try suits upto the value of Rs. 300. The Board desire that substantial justice should be plainly dealt out to a simple people. Professional pleaders were discouraged.

Private Arbitration: Private arbitration is a potent means of popular justice. The Board has been anxious that public disputes should be referred to the arbitration tribunal where the arbitration

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in the minds of the Punjabees is very dear to them. The arbitrators must attend and decide in Court. The award must be presented in the presence of the parties in the Court. Any award can be set aside when its illegality or injustice may be apparent, or when partiality may be suspected.

Revenue: In the public accounts, the revenues of the Punjab are classed number five headings:

Chief head of Revenue: 1. Land Tax, 2. Excise, Stamps etc., 3. Timber Tax, 4. Post Office, 5. Miscellaneous.

The "Land Tax" is applied to the grazing tax, the proceeds of the gardens and forests and the rent of the lands which having been inherited as the property of the late Government or having been abandoned by the proprietors, the state has assumed direct management. The forest taxes are realized from the sale of timber or of licences to fell or cut. The Government share of the land tax under the Sikh rule was clear half of the gross produce. In all the tracts, the Government share never exceeded one-third and fell even lower down, to one-eighth of the crop.

Tribute, is an insignificant item and represents the subsidies paid to the State by the Fedual Jagirdars, either in lieu of service or acknowledgement of nominal vassalage, or of grants conferred. The Post Office revenue was of insignificant importance.

In despite, however, of these large reductions the complaints during the part year on the past of the agriculturists have been loud and general. The course of the discontent was that the agriculture production was in excess of consumption and, therefore, fall of prices. Irrigated and unirrigated lands yielded a particular large return. These circumstances, joined to the general peace and the fact that large bodies of disbanded soldiers and discharged employees had to turn their attention to agriculture for a subsistence all contributed to so great an increase of produce, as to reduce prices to an unprecedented extent. The result of these different causes has doubtless been that production has exceeded consumption and there is not a sufficient market to secure its sale at remunerative prices. To the South, are Sind and Bahawalpur producing more than it consumes and to the East, is the Jullunder Doab, densely peopled tract but so fruitful in its own soil as fully to support the inhabitants.

Under the New Government the demand for food started increasing e.g. for the army and for the workers employed for irrigation purposes, roads, cantonments and other public works that have

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been undertaken must cause the circulation of large sums of money and increase the demand for food.

The history of the fiscal system, in force under Sikh rule, unquestionably proves that where the country was thoroughly subjugated and densely populated, the state exacted a larger proportion of the produce than could be permanently realized without imparing the resources of agriculture. But, under these circumstances, it will be the policy of the British Government to reduce the demand, in order that the people may flourish and capital may be accumulated.

The abolition of customs and town duties has doubtless been to reduce prices.

Perhaps the most marked characteristic of the settlement operations in the Punjab, is that the old employees have been discarded and the measurement and Survey of the village area is now performed by the village accountants and by the representatives of the communities. By the new system, the agriculturists are gaining valuable knowledge which hereafter will enable them to assert and defend their rights without recourse to violence.

Under the statistical operations, a census of the entire population, with an elaborate detail of castes and professions, careful returns of agricultural produce and stock are prepared. In the course of the fiscal operations, the whole land of the Country whether paying revenue to the Government or held in free tenure by Jagirdars and other privileged classes, is carefully valued and assessed. The land tax is fixed at a moderate money payment, determined with due consideration to former assessments, the condition and charactor of the people, the peculiarities of the facilities for irrigation etc.

Regarding the judicial work, in ordinary matters the comfort and well-being of the people evinced in the disposal of the many complicated questions connected with the title of property. In Civil justice the parties interested are the litigants themselves and their immediate relations.

Excise, Stamps and Canal Water Rent: The ferry tolls and water rent was levied on those farmers who irrigate from the Government canals. The Excise and Customs taxes, town duties, transit duties, artisan fees, were all levied. The artisans of Lahore and Amritsar were taxed with the shawls of Kashmir and the dried fruits of Central Asia. The salt mines in Khewra range were leased out to prominent persons. Among the many who grew rich on the profits of these leases was Gulab Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir.

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The propositions of the Board received the sanction of the Supreme Government and took effect from the year 1850. The miscellaneous taxes of the Sikh Government, forty-eight in number, yielded an annual revenue of Sixteen lakhs. The revised taxes of the regency, twenty-three in number yielded a revenue of thirteen and half lakhs.

Pensions and Jagirs were also granted to the people holding high and responsible assignments. The endowments were made to the Charitable and Holy men.

Development of Resources: Immediately after annexation, the Board submitted several propositions to the Government among which was the re-appointment of Col. R. Napier as Civil Engineer of the Punjab. The Engineer's staff consisted of Executive Officers, Assistant Civil Engineers and Overseers and Native Surveyors etc. The planning and construction of all public works with which the Board are concerned, have been entrusted to the Civil Engineer's Department. All the Military Forts, Fortified posts and Cantonments were under this Department. In the Civil side, the Court houses, Treasuries and Jails and in public side all the dispensaries, salt mines and conservancies were also under the Department. The main lines of road throughout the country, the great veins and arteries of the body-politic, were referred to this Department.

The Grand Trunk Road from Lahore to Peshawar first claims notice of this Department.

The capabilities of the Punjab for canal irrigation are notorious. The people, deeply sensible of the value of these works, mutually combine with an unusual degree of harmony and public spirit, not only for the construction of reserviors, but also for distribution of the water and the regulation of the supply. In such cases, when the community displays so much aptitude for self-Government, the Board consider non-interference, the best policy, while they would always be ready to afford any aid which might be solicited.

Miscellaneous Improvements: The Board called upon the several Commissioners to furnish educational reports for their several divisions. The schools are of three descriptions e.g. those resorted to by Hindus, Mussalmans and Sikhs, respectively. It is remarkable that female education is to be met within all parts of the Punjab. In Lahore and Amritsar the anxiety to learn English is remarkable. Many Punjab noblemen and gentlemen have their sons taught English privately.

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Medical schools were also established at four central stations. Civil Engineering College at Roorkee was also established to fulfil the growing demand of the Surveys and Scientific establishments. Conneted with the subject of education, is the empolyment of Punjabees in the Government Offices.

Postal Communications: With the interiors of districts and with localities off the main lines of commercial intercourse, has received attention from the Board. The regular post has opened up most complete channels of communication.

The Dispensaries: The Dispensaries were created at most of our central stations. Branch dispensaries were also very successful.

Finance: The chief source of Finance is of course from the land tax and the next item is composed of excise on Salt and on drugs and liquors, the stamp duties and canal water rent and from the Post Office revenue. Revenue was also derived from judicial fines, from prison labour and from the sale of confiscated property and of present.

Chief Heads of Expenditure: The chief expenses are on construction of the Board's buildings and its branch offices, for military and Civil Departments.

Finances of 1850-51: The Durbar troops having been nearly all disbanded, the extraordinary expenditure fell rapidly, while it rose in the pension department.

The financial result of annexation during the first two years:

This item is made up of the proceeds of the confiscated State Property sold at Lahore. The transaction not having been closed by the end of the year, no account was rendered to the Board till afterwards but, in the meantime, the accounts of the receipts had been transmitted in detail month by month, to the Accountant at Agra.

There were extraordinary expenses also during this period due to the construction of the Bari Doab Canal and the Peshawar Road.

Conclusion: The report is now concluded. The Board have endeavoured to set forth the administration of the Punjab. since annexation, in all its branches, with as much succinctness as might be compatible with precision and perspicuity. It has been explained how internal peace, has been preserved and the Frontier guarded, how the various Establishments of the state have been organised, how violent crime has been repressed, the Penal Law executed and prison discipline enforced—how civil justice has been administered how the taxation has been fixed and the revenue collected, how commerce has been set free, agriculture forestered, and the national

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resources developed, how plans for future improvement have been projected and lastly how the finances have been managed. The Most Noble the Governor-General, who has seen the country and personally inspected the executive system, will judge whether the country is richer, whether the people are happier and better. A great revolution cannot happen without injuring some classes. When a State falls, its nobility and its supporters must to some extent suffer with it, a dominant sect and party, ever moved by political ambition and religious enthusiasm, cannot return to the ordinary level of society and the common occupation of life, without feeling some discontent and some enmity against their powerful but human conquerors. But it is probable that the mass of the people will advance in material prosperity and in moral elevation under the influence of the British rule. The Board are not unmindful that, in conducting the administration, they have had before them the Indian experience of many successive Governments and especially the excellent example displayed in N.W. Provinces. They are not insensible of shortcomings but they will not venture to say that this retrospect of the past, does inspire, them with a hope for the future.

Signed	Henry M. Lawrence	President
Signed	John Lawrence	Senior Member
Signed	Robert Montgomery	Junior Member

Lahore, 18, August 1852.

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Appendix 3

Bengal's Partition

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT ON THE PARTITION AGITATION AND THE BOYCOTT MOVEMENT IN BANGAL. NO. 33—T.P. DATED 21 JULY 1907, NATIONAL ARCHIVES

From: E.A. Gait Esq. C.I.E. Officiating Chief Secretary in the Government of Bengal
To: The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department

It is reported that the deliveries of Salt at Jhalakati and certain other Eastern Bengal centres has slightly improved. The boycott seems to be more particularly aimed at British Salt, purchasers do not seem adverse to Spanish Salts. Consumers in East Bengal, it is said, are almost entirely guided by what their Zamindars say they may or may not use. The speeches are delivered almost daily on behalf of "Boycott" and "Swadeshi" by certain agitators in Beadon Street and College Square, practically no change can be detected in the course of trade in Calcutta. A repetition of the crusade of the p ast two years is expected on the occasion of the forth-coming "Durga Puja". No Change is reported in the relations between Muhammedans and Hindus in Calcutta. The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, who came to Calcutta about a fortnight ago, issued a manifesto disclaiming all participation in the disorders in Eastern Bengal, and stating that he had never encouraged Muhammadans in that province to commit acts of lawlessness and outrage against Hindus. He denied sending out Maulvis to make political speeches. This manifesto was sent to several newspapers, but only *The Statesman* and the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* have published it.

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A private meeting convened by Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee was recently held in the office of the *Bengalee*. It appears to have been decided there that the "Swadeshi" and "Boycott" movements were to be considered not as "Political" but as an industrial and economic agitation in which case there could be no objection to students and tutors taking part in such movements. A circular on the subject is in preparation and will shortly be sent to the heads of mofussil private schools and colleges for their opinion. On receipt of their replies, Government, will be asked for an expression of opinion as to whether or not they consider "Swadeshism" a political movement. Upon the answer of the Government, their future line of action will depend.

Several meetings have been held at the Calcutta residence of the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga, at which the advisability of issuing a "loyalty and patriotism" manifesto with the object of alloying the present feeling of unrest was considered. The editors professed sympathy with the movement, but also professed to think that their joining in it would be attributed to fear.

The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, reports that the Managing Committee of the Baguhat aided High English School in the district of Khulna has been warned that, unless the Head Master of that School, who has been carrying on a political campaign, immediately mends his ways, the grant-in-aid to the School and other privileges will be withdrawn.

HOME DEPARTMENT 1910. POLITICAL DEPOSIT OCTOBER, NO. 14.

From Mr. A. Earle, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla
To: Mr. Hose, Chief Secretary to the Government, United Provinces

A note on the rise, progress and influence of Theosophy with special reference to the United Provinces.

The founder of theosophy was Madam Blavatsky, a Russian of good family born in 1831 and married in 1848. She wandered about in the world, visiting India, before the Mutiny, penetrating into the Tibet and serving as a man in Garibaldi's army. In America in 1874 she met Col. Olcott, a lawyer with a taste for spiritualism, who had fought in the American Civil War. Madam Blavatsky attracted him

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by her "Eastern spiritualism or Brahma Vidya" by the story of her visit to India and Tibet. They founded a society in New York in 1875. The object of the society was "the study and elucidation of occultism, the kabbla, etc.

They opened up relations with sympathizers in India and Ceylon. Among them was a Mr Hurry Chand Chintaman, President of the Bombay Arya Samaj and through him communication was opened with Swami Dayanand, then hard at work preaching his doctrines. In May 1878 the theosophists became the "Theosophical Society of the Arya Samaj". The object of this society became to elevate to a true spiritual education mankind out of degenerate idolaters and impure forms of worship whenever prevalent.

I need not (A. Earle) detail their wanderings, but among English speaking Hindus they made friends everywhere and gained adherents. Their European friends were very few. So they (Colonel Olcott and Madam Blavatsky, went on travelling, lecturing, performing mesmeric healings, their sympathies strongly enlisted in favour of their Hindu friends. She died in London in 1891 having two years before secured a notable recruit in the person of Mrs Annie Besant. She left behind 279 branches. She preached purity and self-denial. She taught that virtue was excellent for virtue's sake.

The keynote of Col. Olcott's teachings was the same. To the students he preached that their "Peril consisted in their irreligious education by Government and their anti-nationalistic education by the missionaries, whose policy it was to destroy their reverence for their national religion, their guide and pole-star."

Mrs Besant: Mrs. Annie Besant was partly English and partly Irish by birth and for years worked with Charles Bradlough. It was due to her that the Central Hindu College was opened in Benares city in July 1898. It was she who induced the Maharaja of Benares, a pillar of Hindu orthodoxy, to give the struggling institution a fine piece of land and spacious buildings. Its leading teachers are theosophists, some of whom work enthusiastically for no salary.

From the Hindu College and Benares, theosophists have proceeded two movements:

(a) The "Songs on India."

(b) Co-Masonary i.e. the Masonic Lodges throughout the world.

In 1907, Col. Olcott died and was succeeded as President by Mrs Besant. Its declared objects being:

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(a) The universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour.

(b) To encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy and science.

The political influence of the theosophy was that "The Indian National Congress was founded by English and Indian theosophists working hand in hand. The first meeting was held at Adyar. It was under the shadow of theosophy, when Mr. Hume and others Indian theosophists were present that the Indian National Congress, took birth. The Indian National Congress, ought not to forget the days of its infancy when it was cradled and nursed in the theosophical society until it was able to stand and run.

H.V. Lovelt further writes that their (Theosophical) teachers were anti-British. They placed themselves in the hands of members of the class to which we owe all our recent troubles. She like Madame Blavatsky, believes herself to have been born Hindu in a previous life and her prejudices are strongly enlisted on the side of those whom she considers her countrymen of a former incarnation.

He further (Lovelt) writes that Mrs Besant's speeches are likely to do more harm to us than good and to promote inflatery, conceit and dissatisfaction with the present order of things. She will certainly want to go further. Moreover, as we never can give India Colonial Self-Government, it can do no good to encourage delusive aspirations.

But the danger lies in the influence of theosophy-cum-nationalism on Hindu Youths. These blended doctrines are openly preached by Mrs Besant on the plea that by meeting the legitimate aspirations of young India, they offerred the only secure hope for future peace.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that we should never close our eyes to the Theosophical teachings and tendencies. They do not belong to our peace, we should watch them carefully and be prepared, when occasion offers, to check them effectively.

H.V. Lovelt

22 June 1910

DIARY OF EVENTS (HOME DEPARTMENT) POLITICAL DEPOSIT (1912) MARCH (NO. 1)

Coronation Durbar at Delhi. Announcement made by His Majesty the King Emperor regarding the transfer of Capital to Delhi, the Constitution of a new Presidency of Bengal, the Constitution of a

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new Province, the Consisting of Bihar, Orissa, Chota Nagpur and Modification of the partition of Bengal.
12 December 1911, India

POLITICAL HOME DEPOSIT, 1910

Reports regarding the attempt on the lives on the Viceroy and Lady Minto at Ahmedabad.

16 November 1909
Her Excellency Lady Minto has been graciously pleased to give me such clear and small information in details and sequence of the events connected with the attempted Bomb outrage at Ahmedabad. It appeared to Her Excellency that the assailant was a young boy of the student class. The first missile hit the hilt of the Sergeant's sword and then fell in the ground followed by the second bomb.

Viceroy and the Vicerine were saved.

C.J. Stevenson Moore
Commissioner of Police

HOME DEPARTMENT POLITICAL, DECEMBER 1907

Telegram dated 1 November, 1907
From: His Excellency the Viceroy
To: His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

Lajpat Rai has submitted a memorial, dated 22 September, 1907, addressed to the Secretary of State, in which he says he has never been informed of the charges against him, that he has never done anything to justify application of Regulation III of 1818 to him, that he took no part in either the Lahore or Rawalpindi riots, nor tampered with the loyalty of the Native Army. He also complains that he has been refused access to legal advice and states, that, if informed of grounds of deportation he would be able to refute the charges against him. He, therefore, asks that, in case His Majesty's Government find it impossible to order his unconditional release, they may permit him to leave India for such time as they may choose to fix, with liberty to reside in Great Britain or in any other country on the continent of Europe or in America. Mr. Morley in his reply, dated 26 August, 1907, to a question asked in the

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Parliament and said that the most recent report marked a gradual but distinct improvement in the Punjab judging from the surface. If this improvement continued somewhat longer and when His Majesty's Government had good reason to believe that the two persons referred to were not likely to renew the course of mischievous action that brought them within the reach of the law of 1818 for the security of the British dominions from internal commotion, then the time would have come for releasing them from the operation of that law. Nobody would be better pleased at the early arrival of that result than His Majesty's Government. Mr. Morley's telegram reads as follows:

Begins. "Private Release of Lajpat Rai. I venture to urge you to make passing of Meetings Act the occasion for releasing Lajpat Rai. You are in a very strong position. You are going to say that you do not intend to proclaim areas in the Punjab. This is a testimony to efficacious deportation. In case Lajpat Rai resumes operations and if these operations are followed by violent disorder, you can either proclaim area under your own powers and can again deport or you can do both. His release, which I must regard as inevitable within a few weeks, can never be better defended from your own point of view than in connection with new powers of repression. Of course the release would not be previously announced and all care should be taken to send him back secretly. I assume Ajit Singh will be included in the same order." Ends.

Please telegraph your opinion as early as possible on following question:

First, whether the improvement, which is believed to have taken place in the state of public feeling in the Punjab, is genuine or fictitious; second, whether in your opinion it is likely to be maintained; third, whether the release of Lajpat Rai soon after passing of Act would lead to a renewal of agitation of a kind likely to lead to violent disorder, provided that Lajpat Rai were warned before release that outbreak of disorder would be followed by proclamation of disturbed areas or his deportation, or both; fourth, whether this treatment should be extended to Ajit Singh; fifth, whether it would be possible and expedient to attempt to obtain any assurance from Lajpat Rai or Ajit Singh or both that, after their release, they would abstain from taking the part in public meetings of a Political character for one year.

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HOME DEPARTMENT POLITICAL DEPOSIT 13 AUGUST 1909, FILE NO. 64, NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Note in the Criminal Intelligence Office

According to a London telegram to the "Pioneer" 17 August, 1909, has been fixed for the execution of Madan Lal Dhingra, the murderer of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie. The body will most probably be cremated and we do not want the ashes of this "Martyr" sent to India by Parcel Post. Perhaps it would be as well to advise the Home authorities by telegram that no removal of the ashes be allowed.

Sd/- A.B. Barnard

29.7.1909

Reply from the Viceroy, Secretary of State
Telegram No. 26, 3 August 1909, 2.20 P.M.

We, understand that the execution of Madan Lal Dhingra will take place on 17th instant. We consider it undesirable that the ashes should be sent to India if his body is cremated.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOME DEPARTMENT, JULY 1909

Prosecution of the Printer and Publisher of a Book of Seditious Songs called Bande Matram Sangeet under Section 124-A Indian Penal Code.
Telegram dated 31 March, 1909

From: The Chief Secretary to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam
To: The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department

Local Government's have sanctioned the prosecution under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code two men of Chittagong for Printing and Publishing Book of seditious Songs called Bande Mataram Sangeet. Case No. 3-T of 1909.

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Emperor V/S Romani Mohan Das Section 124, Indian Penal Code. I find Romani Mohan Das guilty under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code and sentence him to undergo one year's rigorous imprisonment.

I.A. Woodhead
Officiating Magistrate

19 May, 1909

POLITICAL DEPOSIT JUNE 1921, NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Proposed deputation of the Ahmadiyya Community to his Excellency the Viceroy on 23 June 1921

Demi Official letter from the Assistant Private Secretary of H.D. Craik Esq. I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, dated 15 June 1921.

I am to forward a copy of the address to be presented by the Ahmadiyya Community to His Excellency the Viceroy on Thursday the 23rd instant and to request that a draft reply may be prepared and forwarded for His Excellency's approval as early as possible.

To,

The Right Honourable Sir Rufus Daniel Issacs, P.C.G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Earl of Reading, Viceroy and Governor General of India, Simla.

May it please your Excellency. We, the representatives of the Ahmadiyya Community beg to approach your Excellency and Lady Reading a most cordial welcome to India. Our Movement is comparatively of recent origin, it was established only 31 years ago. The Holy Founder of the Movement, Hazrat Mirza Gulam Ahmad of Qadian[1] belonged to a respectable family of Punjab Chiefs, which has been mentioned in Sir Lepel Griffin's book. The family did excellent service during the Mutiny of 1857 and enlisted many men in the force of Gen. Nicholson.

General Nicholson gave Mirza Gulam Ahmad a certificate that in 1857 the Qadian family showed greater loyalty than any other in the District.

[1]Near Amritsar in Punjab.

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Not only the public, even his own co-religionists in particular were opposed to the new movement but even the Government regarded such a claim with suspicion.

Later on the Government changed its stand against this Movement as the Community's main object was to remain loyal to the Government under which we live and never to disturb the peace of the Country. This movement even opposed the Non-Cooperation Movement also.

We request to Your Excellency 1. If they or their subordinate officers happen to make a mistake, they may keep in view the real purpose for which His Majesty's Government has sent them.

2. They may treat Indians as brothers. In our opinion, if this defect is removed, there will occur a corresponding change in the attitude of the Indians also. The chief task before you is to remove the difference of all racial distinctions.

3. We beg leave to draw Your Excellency's attention to the question of Near East. If after a lapse of 50 years, Alsace and Lorraine could be restored to France, through the efforts of the British Government, the provinces of Smyrna and Thrace, may similarly be restored to Turkey.

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Ahmadiyya Community at Viceregal Lodge on 23 June 1921.

The Viceroy congratulated them heartily on the spirit of loyalty which they had displayed. Referring to the various questions raised by the deputation. His Excellency continued. The recent deputation of your fellow countrymen has put the views of Indian Muslims before the Prime Minister, Mr. L. Loyd George and also before His Majesty's Government and the deputation has received the most sympathetic consideration. We don't claim infalliblity either for ourselves at Simla or for those who administer in remote districts.

India has embarked on her momentous voyage towards representative Government and equal partnership in the Empire.

I thank you for your sense of loyalty, I thank you for your statement that you are all to be depended upon, in whatever emergency may occur.

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FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT NOTES INTERNAL DEPOSIT, FEBRUARY 1921, NO. 72, NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Renunciation of Kaisar-I-Hind Medal of the First Class by Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi

October, 1918	: Renunciation of title K.C.I.E. and Diwan Bahadur by Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar.
November, 1919	: Desire of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, Kt. to resign the honour of Knighthood.
January, 1920	: Renunciation of his Kaisar-I-Hind Medal and certain other African War Medals by Mr. M.K. Gandhi.
October, 1920	: Resignation of his title of Hazik-ul-Malik by Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi and return of his Kaisar-I-Hind Medal, 1st Class, the Coronation (1911) and the Delhi Darbar, 1911 Medal.
December, 1920	: Renunciation of the Kaisar-I-Hind Medal by Mrs. Sorojini Naidu.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W.1.,
12 NOVEMBER 1920

Dear Lord Stamfordham,

As a protest against the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi, has returned the Medal to the Government of India.

In June, 1919, Sir Rabindra Nath wanted to resign the Knighthood conferred on him in May 1919, as a protest against the policy followed by Government in dealing with the troubles in the Punjab. With His Majesty's approval, the Viceroy was authorised to inform him that His Excellency was unable himself to relieve him of his title and that it was not proposed to make any recommendations to His Majesty on the subject. In the present case Mr. Montagu does not recommend that any steps should be taken to give effect to Hakim Ajmal Khan's resignations of his Medals, but he intends that the facts should be brought informally to your notice.

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I have, etc., etc.,

A. Parsons

The Right Hon'ble
The Lord Stamfordham
G.C.V.O. etc., etc.,
Buckingham Palace

1921 (HOME DEPARTMENT) POLITICAL DIARY
MARCH 1921, NO. 5

O.M's Propaganda Report dated 2.2.1921. The Non-cooperation Movement

Decision of the[1] Government of the Punjab not to lodge a prosecution against Dr. Kitchlew, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ram Bhuj Dutt Chawdhary for the seditious speeches delivered by them at the students conference. Gujranwala orders[2] issued under the Defence of India Rules prohibited them from speaking in Public.

HOME DEPARTMENT, POLITICAL DEPOSIT, 1921
MAY NO. 43, NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The Rowlatt Bills and the Passive Resistance Movement

In Bengal the anarchist movement had been gaining ground and the local Government were finding great difficulty in checking it. The whole situation had been engaging the most anxious consideration of Lord Hardinge's Government and claimed the immediate attention of Lord Chelmsford. A resolution recommending the appointment of a mixed Committee of official and non-official Europeans and Indians to investigate the whole question of anarchism was opposed by the Government in Legislative Council in February, 1917. In June, 1917 it was decided to arm the administration with special powers to deal with the revolutionary movement after the conclusion of the war. It was recognised at the same time that it could

[1]Lala Mulakh Raj Bhalla, Dewn Amar Nath Chopra, Advocate of Lahore, Lala Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law, Lahore. Lala Har Krishan Lal of Lahore and Lala Hans Raj, Bar-at-Law.

[2]*Zamidar*, *The Partap* and *The Siasat*, Newspapers have published all speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Kitchloo.

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it was decided to appoint a strong Committee to examine and report on the nature and extent of the conspiracies for the overthrow of the existing form of Government and to advise on the powers with which Government should be vested to deal with these conspiracies.

The Secretary of State Expressed his concurrence in this suggestion and a Committee consisting of five members, two of whom were Indians was appointed with Mr. Justice Rowlatt of the King's Bench as the President. The Committee gave a detailed account of anarchical crime in India which, they consider had for its aim and object the overthrow of British Rule by force. They found that the ordinary law was not able to deal with the forces of disorder and recommended a scheme of legislation that would empower the Governor-General in Council to utilize, as occasion demanded. The Indian-owned newspapers vehemently criticised the provisions of Bills to arm Government with dangerous and unnecessary powers. Communications were received from private individuals and public bodies protesting against the passing of the law of the Rowlatt Bills. Shortly, afterwards Gandhiji launched an agitation in the same direction. On March 1, he published a letter in the "Times of India" containing the Satyagarha Pledge. Mrs. Besant adopted a similar attitude in Madras. In March 1919, Mr. Patel suggested that His Excellency should withhold his assent to the Rowlatt Bills but neither of these proposals were accepted. The Bill was passed into a law.

1. If any Policeman coveted a handsome women, he would get the husband out of the way by means of Rowlatt Act.
2. That under the Rowlatt Act any Police Officer could imprison anyone without trial.

All this culminated in the disturbances in Delhi, Calcutta, Ahmedabad and the Punjab resulting in loss of life and property.

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